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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



THE SOCIAL DANGER

OR

Two Years of Socialism

IN

EUROPE AND AMERICA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

L'ABBE WINTERER

Representative in the Imperial German Parliament from Alsace and Lorraine

BY REV. J. P. ROLES

RECTOR OF ST. MARY'S.



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MULHOUSE, le 12 Avril, 1886.

VENERE CONFRERE :

Je vous accorde volontiers la permission de traduire mon travail sur le *Danger Social*. Je serai heureux de servir un peu meme en Amerique, la grande cause a laquelle plus que jamais nous devons tous nos devœuments et tous nos sacrifices.

Je vous prie d'agreer avec mes meilleurs vœux mes sentiments les plus respectueux,

Tout a vous in J. C.

L. Winterer.

Some Words to the Reader.

Six years ago,¹ the readers to whom we addressed our first study on contemporaneous socialism, were astonished by it. One critic, who is as eloquent, as he is sincere, M. D. Steyert, has made the following avowal, "the showing seemed so damaging (*pessimiste*) that I thought I might offer, at least, as far as the *proletariat* of France was concerned, some restrictions, but events have shown me that I was wrong, and have done full justice to the foresight of the author."² -Yes, events have justified our darkest predictions. Already in 1822³ we recognized the alarming progress of socialism. In 1844, in our place in the German Parliament, we thought we were authorized in declaring, that socialism had retreated nowhere and had advanced nearly every where.

1. "*Le Socialisme contemporain, Paris Palme.*"

2. *Le Salut public, Journal de Lyon*, 12 Sept. 1883.

3. *Trois annes de l'histoire du Socialisme contemporain, Paris: Palme.*

Of the speakers on that occasion, who followed, no one thought of contradicting us. The first part of the work we now offer to the public was printed when the elections of the 28th October were held in the German Empire. In these elections the socialists gained twenty-four seats in Parliament; they obtained successes which confirm more than ever our fears, and surpass our predictions. These results were saluted with enthusiasm by the socialists of all countries, who understood their importance. God grant that they who are called by any title whatsoever, to guard society, recognize in their turn the immense gravity of what has happened in Germany! As for us, we do not hesitate to take up again the task we have imposed on ourselves, and to give warning of the recent developments in Germany. This task is not less tiring, than painful; we trust it may be useful.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

Permission to translate this work, was accorded by the Abbe Winterer, in his letter from Mulhouse, bearing date, 12th April, 1886. It was not then anticipated that the anarchists of Chicago, would cast into the shade the exploits of their brothers in Europe; and this translation was not undertaken for the purpose of utilizing the Hay Market massacre to obtain circulation. The date of the Abbe's letter is sufficient evidence of that.

The extraordinary progress of socialism for a long time had occupied the mind of the translator. The distinctive characteristics of socialism, anarchism, and nihilism, were known to him, as well as their connection; and the causes of this sudden revolution, its importance, its aim, its remedy, would have furnished matter for an original work.

But acquaintance with the labors of the Abbe Winterer, brought the conviction, that it would be

better to utilize them, and forego the other purpose.

The Abbe Winterer is one of the ablest representatives in the German Imperial Parliament, where he has had a seat for many years, and has observed closely and specially the march of socialism. His position in Parliament, affords him opportunities of seeing, hearing, and studying the leaders of the movement; while his residence and station at Mulhouse, in the center of the great industrial countries, which France has had to cede to Germany, permit him to examine the progress of the socialistic doctrines among the laboring classes.

As Germany is the headquarters of socialism, and directs and inspires its followers everywhere, a writer of the history of this new revolution would there be best placed for his work.

Some circumstances, delayed the publication of this translation until the present moment, and the Hay Market murders, and the trial of the anarchists, have caused many of the incidents narrated in this history to pale. So much more is known now of the nature and aim of socialism, that much of the information given here may be considered as anticipated. Yet a general view of the movement may have its advantages, and the greatness of the local outbreak does not exclude the warning to be received from the knowledge of the unity, the discipline, the wide-spread character and the fanaticism of the attack on social order.

It may be beneficial to compare, too, the attacks on order in Europe, with those we had here; and notice the similarity of the tactics.

The first note, one may say, of socialism in Europe, is its denial of God; and its leaders are invariably prominent atheists. We are not disposed to say that all the members participate in this denial, but the great majority do. Indeed, the destruction of Religion is considered an essential part of the war to be waged.

The socialists in this country, as we have seen, are heartily in union with their colleagues in Europe. The defence of the trial in Chicago, relied a great deal on the influence over the jury of statements, comparisons and declarations, all excluding belief in the Christian revelation. Not one of the convicted men profess to recognize any religious faith.

If there be no accountability hereafter, it is difficult to suppose that men fanatically engaged in furthering a cause, should be restrained by such a thing as an oath. And we have seen here, as in Europe, examples of the power of such freedom, from the claims of truth.

Counter-evidence of a kind singularly apropos, can always be had among revolutionists, whose conscience does not restrain. This is a precious advantage for a defence against law, and is not only used abroad, as well as here, but is sanctioned and praised; and it is not permitted, that the *formality* of an oath should

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in any way mar the interests of the socialistic cause.

The weapons for such attacks are nearly the same everywhere. Much is expected from Science. Yet, we think, that there is less danger in bombs and explosives, than in the gradual sapping by dangerous doctrines of the very foundations of society.

“When the workingmen of England,” says one of their authorities, “become socialists, it will not be enough to say, there are socialists in England, but that England belongs to the socialists.” This looks prophetic. It will be bad enough when a majority or a considerable minority of the the laboring men become socialists. If such a gangrene gets into the body politic, it will take a sharp operation to remove it before mortification ensues. If ever, in the United States, the laboring classes are imbued with the conviction that revelation, conscience, truth, rights, are fictions, no bombs will be needed, no battering rams required. The Republic will fall like Jericho. Then it may be said, *Actum est de Republica*.

Of what may be the causes of this new Revolution, and its remedy, the Abbe Winterer will explain.

CHICAGO, Sept. 9, 1886.

THE SOCIAL DANGER
— OR —
TWO YEARS OF SOCIALISM
— IN —
EUROPE AND AMERICA.

FIRST PART.

REVIEW OF THE MOVEMENT OF COLLECTIVIST
SOCIALISM SINCE 1882.

The readers, who have followed our preceding histories, know what we call *collectivist* socialism. This kind of socialism rejects all actual economical organization, and with it all social organization. It condemns private property, as we understand it; it asks that all instruments of labor, including the soil, and mines, be held collectively by the State. A small number of socialists would limit themselves to property held collectively, by the Commune.

The theory of collective property, in the first sense has been expounded by the German socialist, Karl Marx. Those who proclaim that doctrine are sometimes called Marxists.

The fundamental idea of the system of Marx is admitted to-day, generally, by the socialists of Europe and America.

Collectivist socialism is revolutionary. Its aim is the destruction of the actual social organization. It does not, at least for the present, wish to employ violent means. This distinguishes it from anarchism.

It desires the diffusion of the socialistic doctrine by all such means as habitual relations, by the press, by reunions, and associations. It favors universal suffrage, and puts forth all its energies to have its followers represented in political assemblies. The most ardent proselytism is inculcated on all socialists.

Collectivist socialism seeks, above all, to impress the denial of private property on those who do not possess it. It considers society, in its present organization, as divided into two corps, one of toilers (*exploites*) and those who benefit by the toil (*exploiteurs*). It propagates a hatred between these two classes. It presents itself as the Messiah of the toilers.

In combating the actual social organization, it combats everything that supports society. Its press reveals deep hatred of the church, of government, of magistrates, and armies.

In their programmes the socialists say, sometimes, that religion, as a private sentiment, does not displease them; but the chiefs of the movement have always audaciously professed the most absolute atheism. Socialism denies God and the future life. In this world was the name of God never before so denied, and they blaspheme as never before have men blasphemed.

More attention is accorded to anarchism on account of the dread its acts have brought upon the world; yet without wishing to diminish this dread, we see greater danger in the propagation of the socialistic idea.

The philosopher, Jouffroy, has described the state of his mind when he had lost Faith. "In vain," said he, "trembling at the unknown void on which I was afloat, I cast myself back again upon my childhood, my family, my country; on everything that was dear to me; the irresistible current of my thoughts was stronger than parents, memories, family, belief; it asked me to abandon all. This examination was pursued more obstinately and severely, as the end was being reached, and only stopped when it was reached. I then knew that nothing was standing. The moment was terrible." Such expressions must be used to describe the ravages of socialism in a soul which it has wrecked. Socialism not only breaks with belief, it repudiates the Christian life entirely. The socialist rejects God, he expects nothing in the life to come; before him in this life he sees society, which he calls his enemy.

We know very well that a socialist who has had a certain degree of Christian education, and has lived with Christian surroundings, can not at once deprive himself of that double influence. But what will happen if socialism spreads itself further, and if the education of the family becomes socialistic, and

if the socialists succeed in forming a state in the state? Then we will see two societies with no mutual understanding, opposed, and as inimical to each other, as was that of ancient Rome, and that which the Romans called barbarian.

Socialism has already got its catechisms, and these are not limited to economical questions; they touch upon others, relating to man and his destiny. In many socialistic families, education is made conformable to the ideas of the father. We have observed one of such families. The name of God was only known through the blasphemies they uttered. No marriage consecrated the union of the father and mother. In the language of the children there were expressions that other children could not understand, while they could not understand some expressions of other children. On Sunday when the church bells announced divine services, the father assembled his three boys, the eldest of whom was fourteen years of age, in the chief room and went through the military drill, and while other children of their age were praying, they performed those exercises.

It is not possible, step by step, to follow the socialistic idea making its way to the domestic hearth. The more this idea takes possession of man the more easily will it capture education. From the general development of it, we may deduce its success in invading the family domain.

With these preliminary observations, let us now

follow from country to country the socialistic movement and its propagation during the last two years. We will have to admit more than one important success, and to recognize, too, energy worthy of a better cause.

We pass in review the different countries in alphabetical order,¹ as we have done in our former studies.

I.

GERMANY.—German socialism has exercised a predominant influence on the collectivist socialism of all countries. It is even to-day the best organised. It is easy to name its leaders, write its history, and indicate its manner of working. It has almost become a society within a society, a state within a state. It is a most astonishing thing, and one which ought to make every one who studies the condition of social life reflect, that in the German Empire, the era of socialism corresponds with an era of unparalleled political success.

German socialism has its well defined dogma; has its government, to which it freely submits, and pays its tribute; has its congress which regulates its existence; has an official organ which although it is printed abroad, exercises, nevertheless, an independent influence. Notwithstanding all the severity of the Law of the 21st of October, made to impose silence, and

1. By the change of language the alphabetical order has been impaired.—*Trans.*

arrest its movements, socialism talks, writes and obtains great electoral triumphs, organizes great meetings, has its popular feasts, gives ovations to the living, and decrees noisy honors to the dead.

If socialism has no God, it has, nevertheless, a prophet. This prophet is Karl Marx, who taught it the fundamental doctrine of collective property, and who called it to wage war until death, against capital.

Karl Marx died on 11th of March, 1883 at seventy years of age. He died in exile, but that added to his reputation among his followers. Marx had lived in exile in Paris, London, and New York. He aided revolution and socialism by his manifestoes, his many pamphlets, by his works, by the periodicals to which he contributed, by the societies which he founded, and by the *Internationale* which he established, and of which he was the life. He edited at Cologne in 1842, *La Gazette Rhenane*; in Paris in 1844, the *Vorwärts* (Forward); at Brussels in 1847, *La Gazette Allemande*; in Cologne from 1848 to 49, *La Nouvelle Gazette Rhenane*; in New York from 1852 to 1861, *La Tribune*. In 1864 he gave to the *Internationale* its laws. In 1867 he published the first volume of his book on "Capital" which has made an epoch in modern socialism.

When Marx died, thirty five years had elapsed since he first put forth his rallying cry "Workingmen (*proletaires*) of all countries, unite." It was with this cry he expected to bring about the creation of

the *Internationale*. Some extracts from the speeches made at the grave of Marx will let us understand what a recognized authority he possessed in the socialistic world.

“The greatest thinker of our day” says his former colleague, Frederick Engels, “ceased to think — 14th March, at three o’clock in the evening.”

“The loss which the workingmen (*proletariat*) of Europe and America, as well as historical science, have met with, is incalculable.”

“Darwin discovered the law of developement in organic nature, Marx gives us the law of developement in human history.”¹

“Marx did not stop there, it was through him we know the law that governs the production of modern capital—a production which has begotten the society of capitalists (*la societe bourgeoise*).”

“Beyond everything Marx was revolutionary. To destroy the society of capitalists and its institutions, to contribute to the emancipation of the workingmen of the day (*proletariat moderne*) to whom he had made known their situation, their wants, and the conditions of their deliverance, was his mission.”

“He died beloved, respected, mourned by millions of friends who lived far apart, in the mines of Siberia, in the lands of Europe and America, to the far off California.”

¹ Hutton, in a recent “Contemporary Review,” gives precedence to Cardinal Newman over Darwin in the discovery of the law of developement.

These are the words of the Russian revolutionary P. Lawoff. They are interesting in more than one way.

“In the name of the Russian revolutionists, I greet for the last time, the most eminent master of modern socialists. One of the most mighty intellects is no more ; one of the most energetic opponents of those who benefit by other people’s toil (*exploiteurs du proletariat*) has ceased to live.

“The Russian socialists kneel at the grave of the man who sympathized with them, in all the vicissitudes of the terrible struggle they were engaged in, and which they will continue until the day of triumph, for the principles of social revolution. The Russian language was the first to possess a translation of the “Capital”—that gospel of contemporaneous socialism. The students of the Russian institutions were the first to hear a stirring interpretation of the theories of the great thinker.”

In its turn the Parisian association of the party of French workingmen expressed, through its secretary, the grief which the death of the great thinker had caused. *He created, thought they, by his analysis of the production of capital, scientific socialism, which led to the modern revolutionary communist movement.*

Jose Mesa y Leompart gave utterance to the sentiment of the party of Spanish workmen of Madrid, *on the cruel loss of the great Socialist*, the master of us all. The Socialist deputy, Liebknecht, did not

wish to be surpassed by any one, in his admiration of his departed master. We can add, too, no one was more blasphemous than he. "Science," said he "is the liberatrix of the world. Natural science delivers us from God. Science is not German; it recognizes no frontier."

"It above all, recognizes no such frontiers as those of *nationality*."

"Socialistic science, to which Marx introduced the people, kills capitalism, and with it the idols and masters of the world."

"The creator of "*Capital*" became necessarily the creator of the "International Association of Workingmen."

"Before Marx, socialism was a sect, or a school; he made of it a party, destined to struggle, not to be defeated, and to triumph."

"Marx belongs not only to the Germans, but to the workingmen of the (*proletariat universal*) world." * * * * *

These quotations are borrowed from the official organ of German socialism¹. As well as showing what place Karl Marx occupied in the guiding of contemporaneous socialism, these declarations teach us something of the fanaticism of its disciples.

The death of the founder of the *Internationale* made, doubtless, a great breach in the front rank of the party. At this moment German socialism has

1. *Der Sozial Demokrat*, 22 March, 1883.

no agitator to be compared to Lassalle, nor any thinker like Karl Marx. It is not, nevertheless, without bold and able leaders. The general direction is confided to the socialistic representatives in the German Parliament, (*Reichstag*). Each important section has, besides, its special leaders and orators; the smallest group has men of confidence, elected and known to it, to act as directors. In general those who represent socialism, in all kinds of meetings, are fluent speakers. The former system of selecting and training, and designating their orators still seems to be continued.

In the front rank appear the names, already known, of the deputies Bebel, Liebknecht, LeVollmar, Kayser, Hasenclever and Grillenberger. The young locksmith, Goerki, made himself quite remarkable in Berlin. Bebel, who is an adroit and engaging agitator, and a very fluent speaker, diminished his reputation by becoming an author. He has published two pamphlets. In the more recent one, his hatred of Christianity induced him to assert the superiority of Islamism; in the former "*Woman in the past, present and future*," he has surpassed even the materialistic ideas of a socialistic disciple. Bebel's only strength, is when he is attacking the weak side of positive economical questions. Outside of that, his ignorance is on a par with his assurance.

In the last two years, the Law against socialism, of 21st October, 1878, has been applied with as much

severity as before. Berlin and its suburbs, and Hamburg, Altona, Harburg, and their neighboring districts, Leipsic, and the country around it, are considered in a state of seige. Expulsions continue, and the socialistic press is reduced to secret and contraband publications, and public socialistic associations have been disbanded; nevertheless, as we have said, and the government admits, German socialism has not receded. It takes glory to itself, that it is stronger than ever.

In carrying out the 28th article of the Law of 28th October, 1878, which was concerned with the state of siege, the government submitted to the Reichstag, in two years, three reports on the measures taken against the socialists; the first on 5th December, 1882; the second on 6th March, and the last on 27th June, 1884. The first report gives the following facts, which we will summarily resume. Success at the elections had given fresh courage, and activity to the socialists. In one quarter of a year 13,000 copies of the *Demokrat*, brought in secretly, despite the vigilance of the police, were confiscated. At Hamburg the socialists had not diminished in numbers. The spreading of contraband writings was very active. Secret meetings were multiplying. Every effort was made to group the different trades, and to procure the leadership in them for socialists.

In Berlin the leaders who had been banished were replaced by others. A committee had been selected

for the propagation of contraband socialistic works. An incendiary work, to the extent of 20,000 copies had been spread broadcast. During the month of February 15,000 copies of the *Zukunft* (The Future) had been seized. The situation in Leipsic was like that of Berlin and Hamburg. Very many copies of the *Sozial Demokrat* had been captured.

The second report was made to the Reichstag twelve months later; it recognized that socialism had, on the whole, retained its positions. Twenty expulsions had taken place in Hamburg, and Altona, and seventeen in Berlin. Since the congress of Copenhagen, in March, 1883, a positive progress of the socialistic movement was apparent; the disciples of Berlin, of Hamburg, and of all Germany, were much encouraged. In a partial election at Hamburg the socialistic candidate received nearly twelve thousand votes, and was elected. The workingmen had grouped themselves into professional classes, and these had always socialists at the head. The *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich, obtained large circulation in Germany, and had to increase its issues. Finally it was admitted that the subscriptions from the workingmen in favor of socialism had much augmented.

The third report was, concerning Leipsic, issued the 29th June. Socialists had been banished from that city. It was always one of the principal centres for the spreading of contraband literature, and through

it chiefly the *Sozial Demokrat* found its way into Saxony and the Empire. The correspondent of the *Sozial Demokrat* pays great attention to what occurs in Leipsic.

The debates which took place in the Reichstag on the occasion of the presentation of these reports of the government, as well as on that of the decree to extend the duration of the laws against socialism, only tended to confirm the truths of the statement made in these reports. The solemnity of the debates and the interest they excited in Germany and abroad, showed clearly that the question of German socialism was not without its gravity. The adversaries of the Law against socialists declared let the Law fall; it has not stopped the progress of socialism. Those in favor of it limited their answer to this: the Law has broken the visible and external organization of socialism, and has arrested its propagation. What would have happened if the Law had not done that much? Then what did the socialists' representatives do? They took care not to put on any airs of repentant sinners. Let us quote some of their most characteristic words:

De Vollmar: "You sought to banish us from the Reichstag; (Parliament) we have come back again in greater numbers." * * * *

"You sought to destroy our press. * * You, yourselves admit that you have confiscated in three months 13,000 copies of our principal organ. * *

It gives me pleasure to notify you, that not in three months, but in every week we just print now as many copies of our journal.

“You wished to disorganize us. You may now recollect that you have not even succeeded in the cities which were in the state of siege.”

“All the concessions you may make us, will not let us forego one iota of our claims (*revendication*.)

“We do not believe that Revolution can be imposed upon a people. Society must be prepared for it. Whenever the conditions will be ready, our party, doubtless cannot remain inactive.”

“You see violent movements in Italy, Spain, and the German provinces, where our influence does not preponderate, but where it does everything is quiet. We have sense enough not to fritter away the strength, which it is our interest not to impair.”¹ * *

Grillenberger. “Your law against socialists is the result of fear ; it is the cowardice of the ruling classes, formulated in paragraphs.”² * * *

Hassenelever. “You will not succeed in forcing us into the arms of anarchism, or of obtaining our submission.”³

Bebel. “We are to-day what we were yesterday, and we will be to-morrow what we are to-day.”⁴

Liebknecht. “If the law against socialists was not

1. Session of 13th Dec. 1882.

2. Session of 14th Dec. 1882.

3. Session of 20th March, 1884.

4. Session of 20th March, 1884.

pro nihilo (of no account) it would be *pro nihilismo* (for nihilism.) On the day when in consequence of repression, the working man will have lost faith in the efficacy of our policy, and when we will be convinced that the cohesion of our party can no longer be maintained, we will then decline all responsibility and will declare; they wish to annihilate us. No party can consent to its annihilation. Self preservation forbids it; and then, all organized leadership having disappeared, you will find yourselves face to face with anarchism.¹"

Bebel. "We are fighting in the front rank, against the rule of the middle class, (*la bourgeoisie*) of capital. When it falls, it will carry everything down."

"The spread of socialistic ideas depends much less on the activity of agitators than on the social conditions in which we are living. * * One hundred years ago, a hearty laugh would have greeted Lassalle. * * Modern production, and capital, provide for socialistic ideas favorable soil. The development of capital degrades (*proletariat*) the masses. No period presents such a degradation (*proletarianisation*) of the masses, as that of the last twenty years. Do not be astonished if you see socialism walking hand in hand with the actual economical movement. In the same measure as capital extends, so the degradation of the workman will be developed; and socialistic ideas will grow in influence and expansion. It will

follow, as true as that two and two make four, that if you have no power to stop the march of capital you will be without means of arresting the progress of socialistic ideas. Capital engenders them."¹

To end our description of the attitude of the socialistic deputies, let us bear in mind that Liebknecht closed the memorable debates in Parliament (*Reichstag*), by reading in his own, and his colleague's name, a joint declaration, in which they declined all responsibility for the results of the law against the socialists.

"For us," said he, "nothing will be changed in our situation. We will continue to walk in the path that duty marks out to us; we will still make every effort to obtain, as soon as possible, a final victory for the cause of socialistic democracy. That victory is the necessary consequence of the political and social movement of the nineteenth century."

From what we have said, we can, at least, conclude that German socialism has lost no ground, notwithstanding the vigorous effort made to repress it. Liebknecht was invited to Paris for a family gathering, in the month of May, this year, and did not neglect to call together in the French capital, the German socialists who live there. According to the *Gazette du Weser*, he reported the situation of the party in the following terms, which we do not hesitate to accept as correct, since they correspond with what socialists have said and written elsewhere.

1. Session of 12th March, 1884.

“Three years ago, when I found myself among you, we were not very confident of the results of the Law directed against us. The workingmen in the industrial centers still rallied around our flag, but there was great danger in the localities, where our people had not been grouped. Our fears now though have vanished. Thanks to the energy of our party and to the mistakes of our adversaries, the movement has taken up again its brilliant march (*elan*). It has spread, as indeed our electoral successes have shown, and has become stronger and more energetic; for the Law against socialists has delivered us from the less manly elements. The social and economical crisis which has sacrificed to capital, the middle classes, and brought such misery on the laboring people, by disturbing the equilibrium between supply and demand, has not been of little aid to us. In this respect, Prince Bismarck has acknowledged what cannot be upheld in the actual situation, and in the interest of his political views, has conceived a social reform, and a system of boards, to provide insurance, and aid for the poor. * * * * *

The warmth of the discussion brought him even to a declaration of the rights of labor. But the rights of labor mean communism, and that means social revolution. We are delighted at seeing Prince Bismarck with his own hand inserting into the joints of the old society the iron which will best disrupt it; we are pleased to see him preparing a revolution.”

The deputy Leibknecht has spoken of the energy of his party. The chief exhibition of it, and which had a dominant influence on its success, was shown in the meeting of the congress of Copenhagen. Congresses have always played a great part in the history of the modern socialistic movement. Already the congress of the *Internationale* produced a great impression. Afterwards the importance of the congresses of Gotha, and Wyden was well known. The congress of Copenhagen had results not less considerable. It was in session from the 29th of March to the 2d of April.

The convening of its members was not made without difficulty. That the congress might deliberate freely it was necessary to mislead the vigilance of the German police. By dint of tact, success was obtained. Already in 1882, from the 19th to the 21st of August they were able to meet at Zurich, so that no outsiders were aware of it, (on the occasion of the festivals, for the inauguration of the railroad of St. Gothard), to consider the questions of organization, and discipline, of the financial condition, and line of conduct of the official organ, as well as on the arrangements of the archives of the party, and for the convocation of further councils. From that moment, everything was carefully prepared for the congress they had in view. The official organ gave due notice to the different groups, and invited them to deliberate on the questions to be submitted, and to select

their delegates. The knowledge of where the congress was to meet was kept, until the last moment, a secret with the leaders. To put the police on the wrong scent, it was given out, that many places in Switzerland, in Belgium, even in Sweden had been selected. The police agents intrusted with the care of the socialistic movements, were travelling in a wrong direction, when they learned that a congress was in full activity at Copenhagen. The Danish socialists generously gave up to their German brothers their own place of meeting.

At the congress sixty delegates met. The German socialists from Switzerland, Paris, and from London were also there represented. The delegate from the German socialists of America arrived too late in Switzerland, only to learn that the congress had taken place in Copenhagen. The *Social Demokrat* published the report which the American delegate would have made in the congress. At no prior congress have the socialists, from all parts of Germany, been represented so completely.

The congress had six sessions and had to abridge its deliberations. On the 13th of March the Danish police had information of the character of their foreign guests, and they were invited to leave Copenhagen as soon as possible. Nearly all the delegates had given false names in their hotels.

The official organ of the socialists, published a report in detail of the proceedings in the sessions of

the congress. It would require some simplicity to believe that the official organ made a complete report; nevertheless, what the *Social Demokrat* said is very important. The congress deliberated, as if it were a regular parliament. Its sessions appeared to have been very calm, and there was none of those fruitless struggles which paralyze so many political parliaments. It heard reports upon the general situation, on the condition of the official organ, on the relief, given to the victims of the Law against the socialists, and on the manner in which the deputies had exercised their election to, and in the Imperial Parliament. The stand the deputies had taken was approved of by the congress. It was shown that since the congress of Wyden in 1880, the number of subscribers to the *Social Democrat* had been quadrupled. The donations received in Germany for the socialistic cause, by persons duly appointed to receive them, had augmented, from the 5th of August 1880 to the 28th of February 1882, to the sum of 95,000 marks (\$22,800); besides 16,000 marks had been sent to Zurich; in fact the relief given from hand to hand was estimated at 150,000 marks (\$36,000).

As for the general situation, it was represented just as it was in fact, with due reverses and successes, and considering the difficulties to be overcome it was considered good. Since the elections of 1881, confidence in the future was greater than ever.

The congress placed clearly before itself all the

important questions of the hour, What should be the attitude of socialists, if Prince Bismarck undertook his *social reform*? If the duration of the Law against the socialists should be extended, what was then to be done? What was to be done in reference to the elections of 1884?

The congress declared, not without some insolence, that, in matters of social reform, it believed neither in the sincerity or capacity of the ruling classes.

If the duration of the Law against socialists is extended they would continue to follow the tactics, which up to the present, have had such good results. They would be ready for the coming elections. A collective electoral manifesto would notify the electors; a pamphlet, in which difficult cases might be considered, would guide them, and a board of five members would give advice in any matters that might be submitted to them. Immediately after the congress they would go to work. Only candidates were to be selected who would accept all the programme of the party. The struggle must not be confined to certain localities, but wherever there were any socialists, candidates would be presented to keep awake the socialistic conscience. The principal directing committee was to be made up of the members of the Imperial Parliament, who would have the right to add to their numbers.

Such were the chief resolutions of the congress of Copenhagen, which the *Sozial Demokrat* has dis-

closed to us. Other propositions had been presented to the congress and accepted by it. They concerned the questions of management or tactics. To deceive the simple, *it was advised to avoid all attacks on religion*. It was recommended, to agitate chiefly, among peasants, women and students. In fine, conformably *to the order of the Internationale*, and to the instruction given during many years to the socialists of different countries, it was again decided to establish Trades associations into which, afterwards, the revolutionary agitation might obtain entrance.

With the aid of this summary review of the labors of the congress of Copenhagen, our readers will easily be able to appreciate the impression it made upon the members. The deputy who presided expressed his entire satisfaction, before closing the session. Then all the delegates rising, sang the *Marseillaise* of the workingmen, and separated with loud and triple cheers for democratic socialism.

It cannot be denied, that the congress of Copenhagen gave a new and mighty impulse to socialistic propagandism. The success at the elections is sufficient evidence of that.

On the 3rd of June 1883, in the election at Hamburg, Bebel received 11,711 votes, and won. In the supplementary elections, which afterwards took place, at Kiel, Wiesbaden, Meiningen and Bielefeld, the socialistic candidates, without obtaining a majority, received

a number of votes far surpassing their expectations. Of 48,000 votes registered in the elections for the Parliament of Saxony (*Landstag Saxon*), 7,750 were given to the socialists, of whom four sat in the Parliament. In many of the city councils in Saxony they are in the majority. Since the month of October 1883, notwithstanding the obstacles of a limited and indirect suffrage, the city council of Berlin, has had to count in its membership five socialists.

Every thing comes to hand for the socialists, even anniversaries and funerals. On the 27th day of August 1883, over a thousand men and delegates from many socialistic groups, followed to his grave, the remains of Daniel Lehman, socialistic leader of Pforsheim, in the grand Duchy of Baden. Over his tomb socialistic speeches were made, and wreaths placed on it. Loud cheers took the stead of prayers. When all the orators had spoken, the son of the departed approached the edge of the grave and cried out with a loud voice: "Farewell! Father! thousands from out your tomb will arise to avenge you." Lehman had been condemned for the dissemination of socialistic writings.

On the 11th December of the same year a procession of thousands of men, with red flowers in the button-holes of their coats, followed to the grave, the remains of the socialist Doell.

In the cities where socialists abound, all kinds of Trade societies have sprung up. The socialists man-

age to enter them, and it is not unusual to see them gradually obtaining control. The *Sozial Demokrat* in the edition of June 1883 celebrated a triumph of socialistic tactics in the Saxon national circle at Eberfeld. This circle had been placed under the patronage of King Albert. The socialists adroitly procured entrance, in such numbers as to become its managers; the King felt that he was obliged to withdraw, and Bebel was elected in his place. He very naturally declined the honor, in the hope of saving the association, but he did not succeed, and the circle was dissolved, by virtue of a Law against socialism.

To the many resources of their proselytism,¹ the German socialists have added another which we find, too, among the French anarchists, that is, the secret meeting in the woods. On certain days, not far from the great cities, on the roads which lead to well known forests, certain groups of pedestrians are seen engaged in lively conversation. One does not suspect that they are all directing their footsteps to the same place; but all at once, it may be observed that the roads are not peopled, and the pedestrians have disappeared. They have met at the point designated, and there, in due order, deliberate on their party affairs.

1. To gain entrance into Germany, the socialistic publications printed in Switzerland, have sometimes to take very strange directions. Some months ago, a large box, containing many thousand copies of the *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich, reached the depot in Mainz, coming from Altkirch in Alsace. The agent of the express company in Mainz, not knowing the name or the profession of the persons designated on the box, notified the police. The box was opened and its contents confiscated. At its session of the 25th August, the tribunal, at Mainz, ordered the destruction of 7,000 copies of the *Sozial Demokrat*, which had fallen into other hands than those to which they were addressed. December 25th, the police of Leipsic, seized at the depot 50,000 copies of an election manifesto in favor of the socialists Bebel and Viereck.

At the moment we are writing, those sylvan meetings serve for electioneering. The ordinary ways are not opened to the socialists, so they take others. Besides, the newspapers of Germany inform us that the instructions of the congress of Copenhagen have been followed with success, and that no party is so well organized for the coming elections as the socialists. To know all their strength, and at the same time, to bring forward the collectivist idea, they will present candidates in eighty electoral districts; they hope to return to all the seats which they occupy in the Imperial Parliament, and expect to regain those which they have lost. The elections will teach us soon, what foundations the socialists have for their hopes. No matter what the result will be, it will not justify those who are indifferent to the danger of socialism.

We will borrow from the *Sozial Demokrat* some features which may complete the portrait of German socialism. Let us select them at hazard from the official organ.

January 19, 1882.—“Workingmen of Mulhouse, only socialism will deliver you from the oppression of manufacturers, and from the domination of force. Extend a brotherly hand to other workingmen, your brothers.”

February 2, 1882.—“Down with all Kings, long live the Republic!”

April 6, 1882.—“It is not in a future life that

workingmen (*le proletariat*) should await their salvation, it ought to be sought in this."

April 27, 1882.—On the occasion of the death of Darwin: "What is the death of the most powerful Monarch, or of an always successful General, when compared with the loss of this man? The workingmen, who struggle for their deliverance, will honor the memory of Darwin."

February 15, 1883.—"What brought forth into the world the anti-Christian, pantheistic, materialistic and atheistical ideas? Was it socialism? No, socialism was unknown in the maternal womb of the middle class (*la bourgeoisie*) when they came into life."

"Those who spread those ideas among us were our great German poets, our famous philosophers. After them, modern, natural science came to overturn everything."

"In the first rank stand Goethe, Schiller, Heine and young Germany; in the second, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Bauer, Feuerbach and David Strauss; finally in the third rank, Moleschott and Buchner, and—now when socialistic democracy has seen the light—the school of Darwin."

"In its youth, the middle class (*la bourgeoisie*) welcomed those ideas with enthusiasm. At the time of the struggle against the aristocracy and the church they were its inspiration."

"Oh! how the times are changed to-day! the

young laborer's apprentice, has spoiled all that. When he was small and gave promise of being useful to the middle class, (*la bourgeoisie*), it gave him their classics, philosophies and natural sciences, that he might use them as playthings. The apprentice has grown up; he took what was given to him, but instead of making playthings of them he has turned them into arms. The middle class which knows the value of those arms is stricken with terror."

February 22, 1883.—"Only the materialistic system, gave a scientific basis to socialism."

April 19, 1883.—"In the same way that powder shattered the power of feudalism, so will dynamite shatter modern despotism. * * * Proud England trembles before some few men, and some hundred weights of dynamite, and has reason to tremble. * * * They used to call cannon '*ultima ratio regum*,'¹ dynamite will be the last right of the oppressed. * * * Dynamite, the most violent of violent means will be the end of the policy of force."

August 23, 1883.—"Marx brought forth a revolution in economical science, like Darwin in the natural science."

October 25, 1883.—"National hatred—as well as the hatred of race—has always been cherished and fostered by the ruling classes."

1. The last argument of Kings.

Dec. 6th.—“To-day, as before, we repudiate Hoedel and Nobiling and condemn their crimes* (*attentats*), but to-day, as before, we condemn the crimes against a Trepaw or a Messenzow.”

“Our brothers of France can be assured that neither the police of Prince Bismarck, or that of Mr. Ferry, or any police whatever, will make us forget the duties of our international party.”

March 13, 1883.—“If you wish to keep socialism from triumphing, you must suppress modern industry.”

April 10, 1884.—“Be ready, brothers: at any moment you may be called under arms. * * * At any moment Parliament may be dissolved. * * * Organize, agitate, proselytize, work without ceasing, do not tire. Redouble every day your energy, until the decisive hour will come. * * * We have one means of success, which our adversaries have not, it is enthusiasm! *Enthusiasm* will lead us to our triumph.”

July 17, 1884.—“In vain you gentlemen idealists, in vain you multiply your learned dissertations, social democracy will remain what it has been, *atheistic* and *materialistic*.”

What do you think of this, reader? Decide from these doctrines, yourself. We did not believe it necessary to call to your attention the violence of the expressions in the *Sozial Demokrat*. The most odious epithets are applied to crowned heads. The

head of the church is grossly outraged, priests are never designated except in insulting terms; which, by the way, does not prevent socialists from declaring that religion is outside of their programme. The *Sozial Demokrat* ignores absolutely true charity, or the noble sacrifices made in christian society; it is only the dark side of the human heart which it sees, and it attacks only the dark side of society. Every page of that publication breathes social hate.

II.

ENGLAND.—Very different is the history of the German socialists living in England, and that of the English socialist. It was in England that Karl Marx established the *Internationale*; it is also in England that the remains of the father of German socialism repose. We need not then be astonished to find that socialism (*collectivist*) and anarchism are well represented in London by very considerable and very active groups. The great bulk of English workmen, though, resists the socialistic proselytism; but it seems to resist less day by day. Upon the English workingmen — the most numerous of all — socialism builds its hopes. The former official organ of socialism, the “Forwards,” (*Vorwärts*) welcomed the day yet in the future, when the battalions of English workingmen would fall into line. The present official organ, the *Sozial Demokrat* for its

part, (in the edition of Sept. 27th, 1883), declares that one day the English workingmen will belong to socialism, and on that day it will not be enough to say there are socialists in England, but that England belongs to the socialists.¹

We pointed out in a former study what, according to us, was, and is the obstacle to the progress of socialism in England. The English workingman is more religious than the German; he is more positive; more preoccupied with his immediate interests, and less accessible to dreams and theories; besides, he is more disposed to enter the great Labor Associations, which have an unbending discipline, and do not allow him full liberty of action; finally the power of English capital is enormous, and makes its influence felt in all social *strata*.

It is nevertheless not to be denied that the socialistic ideas have gained ground. The Congress of Trades Unions, which, in the year 1882, represented a half million of workingmen, carried by a majority, a resolution recommending the *Nationalization of the soil*. It is true that the Congress held from the 10th to the 15th of Sept., 1883, where a small number of delegates representing a number of workingmen equal to that of the congress of 1882, did present, for the same resolution—in deference to tactical reasons—only 34 votes against 90; but the minority of 34 is still very important and is not without some significance.

1. *Trois années de l'histoire du Socialisme moderne.*

At the head of the English Socialistic movement we find the *Democratic Federation of England*, established in 1882, and called since the *Democratic and Social Federation*. The executive committee of the federation published, in the month of June, 1883, a manifesto, with the motto:—*Educate, agitate, organize!* This manifesto has its interest, as well in the names of the signers, as in the principle it expounds. According to it, the total production of the kingdom is to be estimated at 1,300,000,000 pounds sterling; of this 1,000,000,000 went to the landlords, capitalists, and employers of industry, the residue, 300,000,000 only reached the true producers. The manifesto starts from that to demand a radical reform, which lands it in socialism, (*collectivist*).

Let me quote from it:

“We are strangers in our own country. Thirty millions of men live on the soil of Great Britain, and thirty thousand own it. It ought to belong to us all. A long course of rapine and confiscation have taken it from us. The organized brutal strength of the minority has conquered, during long generations, the unorganized strength of the majority. We come to-day to demand the nationalization of the soil. In the country, in the cities, in the mines, in the forests, in the mountains, and the valleys the soil ought to belong to the people, be used by the people, and cultivated in a way to be most useful to the people.”

“But property in the soil, is not the sole form of

monopoly, which empowers those who possess, to employ the very means of producing in order to fleece (*exploiter*) the workingman and reduce him to slavery. Of the £1,000,000,000 appropriated by the class of non-producers only £60,000,000 are taken by the owners of real estate, £28,000,000 go to the few holders of shares in the national debt, which the parliament of the landlords imposed upon the people; stockholders of companies, to which was accorded the right to build our great lines of railroads, take about as much more. But above all must be placed capitalists, wage tyrants, those who are engaged in the exploitation of mines, manufacturing lords, contractors, modern slave owners, those who in their money, their machines, their capital, and credit, are able to find in every conquest of human science, every advance in the aptitude of the workman, means to draw from the toil of others, sources of riches. As long as the means of production, no matter of what kind, are the exclusive property of a class, so long the workingman, no matter of what trade, will be obliged to sell himself for a wage, which may scarcely suffice for the strict necessities of life."

The manifesto ends by an explanation of its motto: *Educate!* We have need of all the intelligence we possess.

Agitate! We have need of all our enthusiasm.¹

1. *Sozial Demokrat*, July 5, 1883.

Organize! We have need of all our united strength.

Among the signatures to this manifesto, are those of Helen Taylor, stepdaughter of the writer, John Stuart Mill, W. Rowland, President of the Association of Coachmen in London, A. J. Dadson, the candidate for Parliament of the liberal party of Marylebone ; and H. M. Hyndman, solicitor and author of the socialistic book, "The Historical Basis of Socialism in England," which his admirers consider as equal to the "Capital" of Marx.

The *Democratic Federation* did not remain inactive after putting forth its manifesto. On 30th of October, 1883, St. James' Hall, in London, received a large meeting, organized by the *Federation*. Miss Helen Taylor, and Mr. Michael Davitt spoke on the question of the nationalization of the soil; Michael Davitt was frantically applauded by four thousand workmen. To-day, a socialistic review, appeared on January 1, 1884, under the charge of Belfort, with the assistance of the socialists. Aveling, Liebknecht, F. Engels, Lawroff, Henry George, Eleanor Marx, Lafargue, Andrew Scheu, etc. *Justice*, the organ of social democracy, soon followed the "Review." "It is necessary that the workingmen and those who would aid their cause, should unite intimately for the great struggle of the social classes," said *Justice* in its first issue ; "besides, it is necessary that they extend a hand to all those who are oppressed or

impoverished by the non-producing classes, (*Les classes des exploiters.*) The landlord system and capital, have disgraced the English name in Ireland, in India, and in Egypt. It is time that we should put ourselves forward, in recognizing the same rights in others, which we claim for ourselves, and which we are determined on acquiring."

One of the most important manifestations of socialism in England was that which took place on the 16th of March, 1883, near the cemetery where Karl Marx is interred in London. It was decided, to celebrate at the same time, the anniversary of the *Commune*, and that of the death of Karl Marx. It was arranged that the meeting should be held at, and around the tomb of Karl Marx, and an immense procession filed away in the direction of High Gate, where he was buried. The red flags bore the well-known inscriptions: "*Labor is the source of all riches!*" "*Workingmen of all lands, unite!*" "*We are struggling for the liberty and comfort of all!*" To the great astonishment of the leaders of the procession, those in charge of the cemetery did not allow the gates to be opened. They thought, with some reason, that a cemetery was scarcely the place for a socialistic manifestation. The leaders withdrew to a neighboring knoll, after having arranged with the sexton, that the flowers and wreaths, which they had brought, should be placed on the tomb of Marx. More than four thousand persons were

there, and they represented the principal socialistic groups of London. Marx and the *Commune* were glorified in English, French and German. The German orator on the occasion was the member of the German Parliament, Frohme. The connection of the name of Marx with that of the *Commune*, means a great deal more than all the discourses made about socialism (*collectivist*) put together; although that socialism called itself, sometimes, moderate socialism.

The English socialistic proselytism is not confined to London or other large cities; it has spread into Scotland; and Ireland is not free from it. Michael Davitt, the apostle of the idea of the "Naturalization of the soil," was, at first, a member of the committee of the *Irish National League*: he left it for the purpose of being freer in the announcement of his doctrines. The present movement in Ireland is very far away from that of the green island under O'Connell.

III.

AUSTRIA.—Two years ago we wrote: "Austrian socialism has not made much noise since 1878 up to 1881, but it is not by any means dead." To-day it is not necessary to say that Austrian socialism is not dead, for it has given some strange and frightful signs of life. It is true, that it is anarchial socialism

which has distinguished itself by a series of crimes ; but collectivist socialism was not far off, in due time, with its agitators.

In Austria, the collectivists or moderate socialists, and the anarchists or radical socialists are divided into two camps—they were even in 1881 mingled and united—but dissensions arose in the month of July, 1882. On the 4th of July, took place the bold attempt of assassinating the shoe manufacturer, Merstallinger; a crime which certain anarchists committed for the purpose of procuring funds for their proselytism, (*propagande*).

This crime elicited such an expression of horror that the moderate socialists thought it necessary to disown all responsibility, and they brought about a first meeting of their followers ; but the anarchists, by violent interruptions, obliged them to disperse. A second meeting afterwards took place on the 31st of August, 1882, when about fifteen hundred persons were present, who did not allow themselves to be intimidated, and a resolution was carried repudiating all connection (*solidarite*) with those who preached social war, *by all means possible*. It was at the same time declared that the attack on the person of Merstallinger was as cowardly as it was odious. The protest of the meeting went no further ; one of the many members present having moved that an effort should be made to unite the middle classes (*la bourgeoisie*) for the purpose of combating anarchism,

Bardorf, the chief speaker of the occasion, opposed the proposition, declaring "We are on the field of battle in a social war; here we will stay until the victory is ours."¹ The moderate Austrian socialism, like that of Germany, desires social war, and absolutely desires it, but does not wish it carried on by the same means that anarchists would use.

Nevertheless, the anarchists continued their plots, and got the upper hand in Vienna. To place some obstruction in the line of their march, the moderate socialists convoked a national council, which was held on the 15th and 16th of October, at Brunn. The *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich welcomed the council as one likely to leave a permanent mark on the age. Indeed, the council believed that it had found a platform that the police would respect, and for which a preface had been written in all respects like the one that Marx had drawn up for the minimizing platform of the French socialists, in the hope that a sufficient brand of socialism was yet marked on it. Forty-four delegates, representing the socialistic groups of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Tyrol, and upper Austria, as well as those of Vienna and of Gratz were present at the Council. Three anarchistic delegates withdrew during the debates, the others unanimously separated their cause from that of the anarchists, and declared that the "Future" (*Zu-*

1. *Der Sozial Demokrat*, 7th Sept., 1882.

kunst), which had assumed a tone too radical, was no longer the official organ of the party.

One might then have thought, for an instant, that Austrian anarchism had received its death blow, and that it could never recover from the stroke it had brought upon itself, by its first misdeeds; but nothing came of all this, and we will have to narrate in the second part of our studies its sanguinary exploits. Moderate socialism underwent an eclipse through the promises that active socialism had put forth. It was afterwards scarcely heard of, except in some few trials. It exercised, nevertheless, influence in the association and meetings of the workingmen, as well as by its publications; there is no doubt, though, that it has not lost ground. It has established itself in every part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire; it has its organs in the different languages there spoken: the *Spravedlnost*, and the *Volksfreund*, (Friend of the People), at Brunn; the *L'Arbeiter Freund*, (Friend of the Workman), at Reichenberg; the *Wahrheit*, (Truth), at Vienna; *Nepzara*, and the *Arbeiterwochen-Cronik*, (The Weekly Workman's Chronicle), in Pesth.¹

The socialistic agitation has always had a predilection for Hungary, where the way is better prepared. Both collectivist socialism and anarchism are well represented in the capital of Hungary.

1. Zacher, *die rothe internationale*, page 123.

Socialism prefers centralized countries where its proselytism is facilitated. In countries less centralized, like Austria and Switzerland, its propaganda, in endeavoring to pass from one to another, finds a threefold obstacle in frontier, language and character. From that arises the comparative weakness of Austrian socialism. This weakness has other causes too, among which religious influence may be reckoned first. The leaders of Austrian socialism are inferior to those of German socialism, and the importance of their newspapers is much less than that of the *Sozial Demokrat*. What we have said is so true, that Austrian socialism puts itself, of its own accord, under the pupilage of German socialism, accepts its official organ, and draws from its neighborhood, and its assistance, a great part of its power.

Austrian socialism stands in the same attitude, as regards the Social Reforms undertaken by the Minister Taaffe, as the German socialists do to the reform of Prince Bismarck. They accept them for what they may be worth, without being satisfied with them.

Anarchist crimes having been committed with appalling frequency, exceptional measures were taken by the Austrian government from the 30th of January, 1884, in the social circuits of Vienna, Korneuburg and Wianer-Neustadt. These measures were almost equivalent to placing the socialists, by law, under a state of siege ; they went so far, in the

year 1884, as to withdraw from trial, by jury, certain specified crimes and delinquencies, and to transfer them to the judgment of the bench. Numerous expulsions took place by virtue of this measure, and the immediate effect was such that a regular panic was observed, not only in the ranks of the moderate socialists, but also in those of the anarchists.

At that period the *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich,¹ published a series of revelations very useful for an understanding of the situation of socialism in Austria. The writer, at first, explains the development of anarchism. He attributes it to the absence of universal suffrage in Austria, the chief cause. It is necessary, according to him, that socialism should be able to keep itself before the public, and exhibit its success to prevent its followers from being discouraged. "The liberty of the press and speech, however unlimited, does not suffice to keep lethargy from taking possession of a party; if it be not possible to place itself permanently before the public. German socialism has that advantage, and has its successes, through *universal suffrage*; and that preserves it from anarchism."² We have not this means of succeeding. It is not astonishing that a party made up of workingmen ends by losing courage,

1. Feb. 21, 1884.

2. Translating this in Chicago, to-day, (May 14th, 1886), we see how unfounded this reasoning is.

and despairing of its cause casts itself into any other party which promises it success in the near future." After having taken this melancholy glance at the past, the writer of the article takes even a sadder view of the future.

"What have we to expect? The Austrian workingmen's party is passing through a crisis. The power that anarchists exerted over the masses is lessened, since its agitators, instead of leading the people to the promised victory, hasten, at the first appearance of danger, to fly in all directions.

"Will any good result be obtained from this by what is called moderate socialism? We wish there may but we have not much ground for hope. These exceptional measures are not only aimed at anarchism, but against the socialistic movement in general. Those arrests and expulsions bear hard upon us. Our meetings are interdicted, our societies, and our press, are constantly in danger. The *Wahrheit* (the Truth) has been threatened with suspension. Democratic socialism thus finds itself more crippled than anarchism itself, for our propaganda does not depend entirely on conspiracy * * * * We dread that through the influence of the anarchistical tactics, the Austrian workingmen's movement will be condemned to pass through a period of stagnation. * * * * Only one thing, it appears to us, is able to stir up the masses in Austria, and impart confidence to them

again, and that is a *brilliant success in the approaching elections of Germany* * * * * We will consider as our own triumphs, those of our German brethren * * * *

The world-wide connection of socialism cannot be better shown forth, than by the stress laid on the last observation made by this correspondent of the *Sozial Demokrat*.

IV.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.—Considerable spread of socialistic, mingled with revolutionary ideas, and very little organization: in these few words we have all the history of socialism in Belgium during the last few years. As everywhere else, the separation between anarchical tendencies and socialism of a more moderate tone, is more clearly marked.

Collectivist socialism held its annual congress in 1882 and 1883. The congress of the 4th June, 1882, which met at Vervier, was composed of thirty delegates, representing twenty-five associations. If we are to believe the *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich, the congress of the 13th and 14th May, 1883, at Lieges, was not without importance. Delegates were there from all the principal, and from many of the cities of secondary rank. The congress adopted a platform very like, in every respect, that of the German socialists; it

designated the *Sentinelle* of Verviers as the official organ; and decided that all subscriptions should be paid into the general treasury. In a word it tried to introduce a little more order and discipline into the Belgian socialistic movement.

Besides this congress, Belgian socialism, organized some public manifestations. On the 27th Sept., 1882, a socialistic festival, with a procession and a meeting, was held at Lieges. Five thousand men, in dense ranks, marched from the railroad depot, where strangers were received, to the place selected for the meeting.

The lack of discipline among the Belgians is very discouraging to German socialism, and great efforts are made by Germans to apply a remedy to this state of things. They have called to their aid their leaders from beyond the Rhine. The deputy Vollmar, invited by groups of both Belgian and German socialists, has, on many occasions, visited Belgium. He welcomed, and encouraged the delegates at the congress of Verviers; and addressed, in French, the socialists united at Lieges, on the 27th Sept., 1882; two days after he harangued their brethren at Brussels. In 1883, we find Mr. de Vollmar again at Antwerp on 18th February, and at Ghent the day following. According to the *Sozial Demokrat*, he had a triumphal march. "Belgium," says that periodical, after pointing out the importance to be

attached to the mission of Mr. de Vollmar, "does not lack socialists, convinced and determined, but it is entirely without organization. When speaking of the Belgian socialistic party, we only refer to men who hold the same ideas, and not to men united and grouped, for the purpose of attaining a definite political result. The consequences of such a condition are easily felt; in the Borinage, for example, proselytism is less active, and a number of the associates has fallen off, and of the many workingmen's organs, which had been successfully established, only two remain, the *Sentinel*, of Verviers, and the *Toekomst* (The Future), of Ghent. The brave workmen, though, of Ghent, must be considered as exceptions and examples to others. The society of weavers, particularly, is solidly organized, and it is one of the rallying bodies of the workingmen's movement.¹

Since the *Sozial Demokrat* wrote those lines, Belgian socialism has scored some successes. The socialistic organ, the *Werker*, has reappeared in Antwerp in the month of May, 1884, and the *Voix de l'Ouvrier*, in the month of July, in Brussels. In the elections of the month of May, which produced such sensation, the socialistic ticket received fifteen hundred votes in Brussels. And as we are writing, an alliance between the socialists and the

1. *Der Sozial Demokrat*, March 8, 1883.

liberal party has been proposed by the leaders of the latter, for the approaching municipal elections; some seats being promised to the socialists in exchange for their votes for the liberal candidates.

Socialism found it very difficult to get entrance into Holland, as there are few important industries in the country; and the population is religious, in general; but during the last two years, the anti-social prosélytism, has made some progress in the Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and other cities. Socialism in Holland, though, is under much better discipline than in Belgium.

Twenty delegates sat at the congress of Rotterdam, 24th Dec., 1882. The report of the directing committee, recognized serious gains, due to the influence of the official organ, *Recht voor Allen*, (Justice for all), edited by F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, an ex-preacher. The congress decided on creating a fund to aid workingmen on strikes. The Dutch socialists are grouped in six sections, and the Hague was selected, as the seat of the central director.

The socialist agitation in Holland took another flight on the occasion, in the month of August, 1883, of the opening of the Colonial Exposition at Amsterdam. Expositions have always been for the socialists opportunities for rendezvous which they never neglect. Here let us quote the sayings of a correspondent of the *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich. "Our cause

is gaining ground in Holland. Our organ, the *Recht voor Allen*, is sold publicly in the streets of Amsterdam, the Hague, and Rotterdam. Its circulation has increased in a marvelous manner, and there are grounds for believing that it will soon be able to appear twice a week. Personal agitation is not neglected. Our brave and indefatigable Domela Nieuwenhuis is always on the march; and the meetings which he organizes have great success. Two years ago, and the word socialism was unheard in the towns on the borders of the Zaan, while now at Koog we have a meeting place, where we deliberate without obstacle; last fortnight gave, indeed, happy days to us. Eighty French brothers had arrived to visit the Exposition; they had been delegated by the syndicates of Paris, Marseilles and Niort. *The French government had paid their travelling expenses, but that did not prevent our brothers from France from doing something for socialism.* We held a joint meeting, which succeeded perfectly; and the subjects considered have not given much tranquility to the press, unfriendly to us. That press which has so much to say for *liberty in Holland* is beside itself in the light of the success of democratic socialism, and calls loudly for the police. * * * *

This correspondence was published in the edition of the 30th August; that of 23d August gave the text of the peroration of the speech which the *indefatigable* Domela Nieuwenhuis addressed to the

French guests in the meeting got up in their honor. "For you, as for us," said he, "there is only one nationality; that is humanity. For you, as for us, there is but one country; that is the earth. For you, as for us, there is but one flag; it is that of toil. For you, as for us, there is but one religion; and that is the desire to procure for all men whatever happiness is possible." The assembly hearing these words, voted, with unanimous applause, a resolution proclaiming the intimate connection (*solidarite'*) of the workingmen of all lands, and the necessity of establishing among them permanent relations.

The zeal of the socialists in Holland, felt, of course, the impetus thus given to their movement. On the 17th September, on the occasion of the solemn opening of the States-General, they made a manifestation in favor of universal suffrage at the moment the King was leaving the legislative palace. They followed the royal procession with banners bearing the inscription, "Universal Suffrage!"

In the month of November, 1883, the *Journal des Debats* published a correspondence clearly admitting the apprehensions inspired by the revolutionary movement in Holland.

"In the commercial and manufacturing cities, and particularly in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, around the outer walls (*singels*) and near the canals (*grachten*) of all descriptions, beyond where, houses large and charming in their cleanliness, are reflected in the

canals, extends a net-work of narrow alleys, and miserable huts, in which is crowded the innumerable army of toilers, a vast camp of misery, where festers a nameless population. If we may still count there a number more or less loyal to the faith of their fathers, and to the house of Orange, the number of those falling under the action of socialistic and anarchistic ideas goes on always increasing.

“The Dutch workingman who is slow in commencing, is slower still in returning, and what adds to the danger of the situation is that he knows perfectly well—through his own experience—the might of association.

“Socialists of all kinds swarm here, having for their pretext the material improvement of the lot of the toiler; who on his part listens, answers, and takes very coolly resolutions which he thinks will be coolly carried out. The government and the middle classes (*la bourgeoisie*) know this, and while laying stress upon social differences, feel more than we would be disposed to believe, that they will have to reckon soon with the claims of the laboring people. Will they be able to muzzle that lion? It is a fact little known, but nevertheless exactly true, that at the sessions of the States-General, the police had to take exceptional precautions to avoid a socialist manifestation in the very heart of the Parliament. * * * *

On the date of the first of May, 1884, the *Sozial Demokrat* confirmed the report of the continual pro-

gress of socialism in Holland. After its information, the *Recht voor Allen* was to appear twice a week; it had ceased to belong to its original proprietor and editor, and was owned by the socialistic party which had, too, procured a large hall for its reunions. If socialism were in our eyes a lion, like it is in the eyes of the correspondent of the *Journal des Debats*, we would ask, "Will they be able to muzzle him?"

V.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Few lines will be needed to show the situation of moderate or collectivist socialism in Spain, as Spanish socialism is nearly all anarchistic. To ask a Spaniard who believes not in a God, or a Revolutionary, to make himself the slave of a theory, or to submit himself to what German socialism exacts, is to ask nearly the impossible; his social revolution is a revolution to be obtained by all imaginable means, and soon. The greater part of Spanish socialists continues, and will continue, attached to anarchism. *Cantonism* and *Bakouninism* are their favorite forms of it.

The socialism of Marx preceded anarchism in Spain, and obtained some partisans, but even the *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich, admits the inferiority in numbers, now, of the Marxists. To distinguish themselves from the anarchistical party, the moderate

has entitled itself, the *party of Spanish democratic and socialistic workmen*, and has its official, the *Obrero*, (The Workman), printed in Barcelona. A congress, not without importance, met at Barcelona, on the 15th and 16th of August, 1882. All the delegates, except four anarchists, who had formal instructions, applauded the doctrine of collective socialism, and the system of workingmen participating in electoral struggles. Beyond this was found nothing original in the congress: its resolutions are only copies badly translated into Spanish of what is called the Minimist platform of the French socialists. The congress expressed its wishes that education should be modified, and made obligatory, and not sectarian; that social reform should be undertaken; that the daily duration of labor should be shortened; and the labor of women, children, and the imprisoned regulated; and that assurance associations for laborers should be created, etc., etc. The congress desired everything likely to raise the workman in his own opinion. It demanded direct and universal suffrage, so that the fourth class might be enabled to take part in political struggles. From these struggles, political power might be obtained which would allow the workman to overturn the present social order, and to replace the *political* State by the economical, in which society would possess the instruments of labor, and be able to put them into the hands of groups of producers.

This platform did not excite much enthusiasm in Barcelona among the Spanish workingmen. Since that congress the moderate socialistic party has not made itself much talked about. If it has not retreated it has not made any considerable advance. It still keeps up an appearance in and out of Spain, and sent two delegates to the international socialist conference, in Paris, October 29, 1883.

The fate of Spanish socialism has not always been the same as that of the Portuguese. From the commencement, anarchism has had less success in Portugal than in Spain. At their first congress, in 1877, the Portuguese socialists abandoned the use of revolutionary modes of action, and proclaimed a determination to pursue their aim in connection with the other socialistic workers throughout the world. The congress which met at Lisbon in 1882, in Feb., was of the same disposition. Since then there is not much agitation among the socialists in the country. The two periodicals: *O Protesto*, and *O Operario*, have been fused into one daily, *O Protesto Operario*, (The Workmen's Protest). The *Sozial Demokrat*, in the issue of April 19, 1883, defines the situation in Portugal by these words; "The republican idea, as well as socialism, is gaining ground."

VI.

FRANCE.—In France those who had not paid much attention to the matter until after the explosions of dynamite at Montceau-les-mines, and at Lyons, as well as the anarchistic manifestations in Paris, commenced to think then there was something in it; their fears, though, disappeared with the noise of the manifestoes, and the explosions. We pity men of political importance, who, to recognize a social danger, find it necessary to see crimes.

A section of the French press has taken a strange interest in the divisions, may we say chasms, which have opened in the bosom of socialism. That press seemed quite disposed in recognizing them, to assure us that they were of no importance. Whatever they may have been, they are very far, indeed, from obstructing the march of socialism.

We have observed, that there is no question of the separation which exists in France, and elsewhere, between the anarchists and the socialists; here we have only to consider the struggle going on in the camp of the latter.

Their dissensions were brought into existence by causes of a secondary nature. Julius Guesde, one of the ablest of the French socialists, exercised an influence which his adversaries envied. He had succeeded, at the congress of Havre, in securing the adoption of the Minimum platform. He had drawn

around his newspaper, *L'Egalite*, the elements of the middle class socialists. The *Proletaire*, the organ of his opponents, addressed chiefly the working class and sought the support of the anarchists, who also did not look favorably on the prominence of Guesde and his disciples. An incident of the election added strength to these antipathies. In November, 1881, the congress at Rheims recognized the *Proletaire* as the official organ of the workingmen's party; but that did not prevent Julius Guesde from recommencing the republication of the *L'Egalite*, which for some time had ceased. The rupture finally occurred at the congress of Saint Etienne, opened on the 25th September, 1882.

The great majority of the delegates took the side of the workingmen's journal (*Le Proletaire*), which was well represented at the congress; of 335 groups Julius Guesde was able only to control 32. They withdrew and followed their chief, and held a congress at Rouanne; 41 groups of the northern union, (*Federation du Nord*), remained neutral.

What separates the two collectivist camps, that of St. Etienne and of Rouanne, are only personal and tactical questions. The leaders of the St. Etienne camp are the socialists Brousse, Malon, Labusquiere Joffrin, etc. The writers of the *L'Egalite* call them *Possibilistes*; while their adversaries designate them as *Marxists*.

The Possibilists, like the Marxists, have the same doctrine of the *collectivist property held by the State*, but in reference to tactics and discipline, they think that it would be better to realize what is possible and afterwards to try and reach a condition of *property held by the Commune collectively*.

As far as organization is concerned, the Possibilists and the Marxists differ; the former consider the system of the later as too centralizing, and they allow local platforms, not even requiring as much as the minimum platform.

When the Possibilists called their adversaries Marxists, they did not intend to reproach Julius Guesde with professing the system of Marx, which they, themselves, had adopted; they only wished to declare that Guesde and his disciples were too much under the influence of Karl Marx. Decidedly there was reason for that. Marx had taken part in drawing up the minimum platform, and the relations between Guesde and Marx's school were on an excellent footing for a long time. Guesde had been one of Marx's collaborators on the ancient scientific review of German socialism, the *Zukunft*, (The Future). Let us add, that Lafarque, one of the principal colleagues of Guesde, was a son-in-law of Karl Marx.

The *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich, inclined naturally towards the Marxists, and notwithstanding the efforts

made to appear impartial, it did not succeed in concealing, where very naturally, indeed, its sympathies were.

On the other side, the animosity of the Possibilists against the Marxists was accompanied with a certain antipathy to the German socialists, which on more than one occasion had shown itself. The socialistic deputies to the *Reichstag* found it necessary, now and then, to go to Paris, to sustain or reestablish friendly relations between German and French socialism. On the 17th December, 1883, the deputies, Bebel, Liebknecht, and de Volmar, in reply to some remarks of the *Proletaire*, made the following declaration: "The German socialists have always acted conformably to their principles;" they did so when there was danger in it; they will continue so. "Our brothers in France may rest secure, that neither the police of Prince Bismarck, or that of Mr. Ferry, or any other police, will prevent us from recollecting our obligations to an international party."

It appears that peace exists at present between the *Proletaire* and the *Sozial Demokrat*; to bring about a formal convention of the national committee of the party of the *Proletaire*, and of the German socialists residing in France a meeting was called and held.¹

It is very evident that a great difference in the discipline of the French and German socialism is observed. This results from various causes. The

1. *Sozial Demokrat*, 24 Jan., 1884.

French revolutionary is more turbulent, and accepts with difficulty the yoke of discipline. On the other hand, the French legislation has for a long time been opposed to every movement in favor of association. Besides, German socialism is of recent date; it has only known Marx's system, which the disciples of Lassalle also accepted; it has been the law of all the groups. But since the great Revolution, socialism has been continually trying to find a home in France; from Babœuf, Saint Simon and Fourier to Proudhon, the teachers of socialism and communism have been many, and each had his system as well as his followers. These still, in a great measure direct the actual socialistic movement, and they are far from having abandoned their former ideas. This explains why so many of their disagreements, with more or less violence, are made public in the press, or in the congress.

There is, nevertheless, one common bond of union among these avowed enemies of society. French socialists and communists of all shades, can all be nearly classified under these four heads: 1st, the socialistic republican alliance; 2d, the French workingmen's party; 3d, the French revolutionary socialistic workingmen's party; 4th, the anarchists. We will speak of the anarchists in the second part of this treatise. The party of the socialistic republican alliance presents a mixture of socialism and radicalism. Its organs are *La Ville de Paris*, the *Moniteur*

des Syndicats Ouvriers, and other radical papers. It has representatives in the French legislature, and in the municipal council of Paris. The French workingmen's party is made up of the groups which had adopted the platform of Roanne. Finally, the French revolutionary socialistic party is that which we saw established at the congress of St. Etienne. It is by far the most considerable, and the numbers of the members enrolled in the different federations may be set down as from 150,000 to 200,000.

We do not think it necessary to give the titles of the different socialistic newspapers, they are as significant as they are numerous. The organs of lesser importance shoot up like mushrooms and perish as fast, when they have uttered their blasphemy against God, and their shriek of hatred to men.

But we are very far from being disposed to look with derision on the internal struggles of the French socialistic parties. The Possibilists and the Marxists may, indeed, resort reciprocally to sarcasm and contempt; the anarchists may answer the moderates with fisticuffs or slungshot; it is easy to conclude that these maniacs are unable to build up anything, but it is not permitted us to despise their efforts. If they can not create they can destroy; and they are pressing on the work of social destruction with an energy and an activity that we are obliged to consider with grief and anxiety.

Divided as they are, the French socialists have

their newspapers and their periodicals, edited with passion born of, and engendering hatred.

Divided as they are they find seats in the legislature and in the general and municipal councils.

Divided as they are, they are constantly exciting and agitating the laboring classes. They are the chief cause of the strikes, which are becoming as common as in England, and are assuming threatening proportions, as those in Paris, and in the mines of Anzin.

Divided as they are, the French socialists hold their local and national congresses. The latter indeed have not always been exempt from disorders; but they have added to the strength of socialism, Their disciples name with pride the national congresses held at Lyons, Marseilles, Havre, Rheims, St. Etienne and Paris. To two congresses of the Possibilists we must add those of the Marxists.

The last national congress of the Marxists was not the least interesting of them. It opened at Roubaix, at the end of the month of March. The call to meet, put forth by the committee of organization, to the revolutionary centres, had the signatures of a dozen circles, among whose titles we observe the following: The Reformers, (*Reformateurs*), Dauntless, (*Sans-peur*), Equality, (*L'Egalite*), The Bastille, (*La Bastille*), The Brigands of Lepeule, (*Les Forcats de L'Epeule*), etc. Julius Guesde expressed his admiration for the Russian nihilists and the brave

German socialists. The female citizen, Paula Mink, thanked God for the phyloxera in the south, which must convert the small proprietors into socialists. The day, said she, when the cry to arms will be heard in the cities, it will reecho in the country. In the answer to the address from the German socialists, it was proclaimed, that notwithstanding all manœuvres on the part of the governing people, there were no frontiers between the *proletaires* of Germany and those of France, as they were united in one common effort to dispossess the upper class, (*la bourgeoisie*), of all political and proprietary privileges.

On the 29th October, 1883, there was in Paris an international socialistic conference, at which French, English, Italian and Spanish delegates attended. The English introduced resolutions relatively moderate; but in the report made to those who had sent them, they affirmed that the French socialists proposed no other remedy for the evils of society save that to be found in a violent revolution.

The necessity of international socialistic action, was not only proclaimed by the congress, but verified by many other circumstances. Even the students felt obliged to lend a hand. In the month of May, 1882, a group of those young socialists of the university of Paris, addressed an appeal to their socialistic companions in France and abroad; and after having announced that their organization was established, they encourage them to do likewise, and

thus to contribute to the formation of an international federation of students with similar proclivities.

To be complete in our notice of the movement we cannot omit reference to the manifestation so frequent and noisy, of French socialism; particularly those of the 18th March, the anniversary of the establishment of the Commune, and of 25th May, the anniversary of its defeat.

The 18th March has become the international holiday of socialism. All divisions celebrate it by banquets, speeches, addresses and newspaper articles. In 1883 there were in Paris twenty banquets. The *Proletaire* was printed on red paper. Messrs. Joffrin, Labusquiere, and others were present at the banquet in the Rivoli Hall. All the orators bepraised the Commune, only one of the banqueters had some modifications to make it, was the citizen Leboucher, who according to the Parisian press, thought the Commune had not killed and burnt enough.

The 25th May, in the same year, saw another manifestation in the cemetery of *Pere Lachaise*. The *Bataille* put forth its cry of triumph; it frantically applauded the execution of the Archbishop of Paris, the Dominicans and the Jesuits, and it felicitated in a long column the great people of Paris for their admirable instinct.

“Do you know,” says the *L'Univers*,¹ “that about

¹ *Univers*, 29th May, 1883.

twelve thousand men were manifesting themselves among the graves? Do you know that they carried and waved their red flags? Do you know that their orators delivered discourses even more terrible than usual? Do you know that the walls reechoed to thousands of promises to murder? Do you know that your police, in deep ranks too, but fearing to be overcome, did not dare to interfere?"

Another such manifestation was organized for the 25th May, 1881. Here is how the Cry of the People (*le Cri du Peuple*) announced it:

"It is the forward march of the army of the *proletariat*, crushed thirteen years ago, now forming its ranks on the ground where its most precious blood was spilt. On the fields fertilized by our sacrifice they speak of planting trees and shrubs which will be the verdant and living frontiers of the soil of which we wish to make the country (*la patrie*) of our dead. Perhaps they who could not prevent the former invasion, may prevent this one, but they will never be able to tear out the idea which has taken root in the hearts of the poor, and incites them to the coming strike against the use of their bodies as pieces of machinery, and as food for cannon."

Many thousands of this mob were crowded into the cemetery. Songs of vengeance were heard, long live the Commune! (*Vive la Commune*), was the favorite cry. The citizens Leboucher; Druelhe,

Humbert and Eudes delivered discourses, interrupted every moment by cries of death for the men of Versailles ! Death to traitors ! We will avenge our martyrs !

The peroration which obtained the most applause was that of citizen Roche, editor of the *Intransigeant*:

“From the watchman in the parks up to the prime minister, they are all united in crime and in fleecing us, (*exploitation*). We too ought to be united in the work of revenge.”

Over the grave of Delescluse,¹ Lissagary of the *Bastille*, terminated his panegyric with these words :

“Delescluse was treated as a mere Jacobin while he was the first socialist of France. We ought to reform again the army of the revolution. The hours of present society are counted. Yes ! the apotheosis is that of the revolution. Long live the Commune. Long live the revolution !”

The mob howled its applause, and red bouquets were cast upon the grave.

Doubtless these are the speeches of maniacs. Certain economical forms may perhaps perish, but society can not fall under the attacks of socialism. This, all our readers know. But let them not be deceived; for such words, such activity, such agitation, such an exhibition of all that human passion can draw from hatred, such efforts to revolutionize in the complete sense of the word, are calculated to bring

¹ One of the most infamous leaders of the Commune in 1870.—*Trans.*

about religious and social ruins, and accumulate material and moral disasters.

In the elections for the Chamber of Deputies, the socialistic candidates obtained in Paris 26,000 votes; and in the municipal elections of the month of May, 1884, they counted 39,000. These increased figures are sadly eloquent.

VII.

ITALY.—We will not astonish our readers when we tell them that the collectivist and anarchistical propaganda are equally active in Italy. For the last few years the activity of the leaders was sometime truly feverish. The centralization of Italy, procured by violence, has not yet been accepted in the hearts and customs of the people, and this has been an obstacle there, to the complete organization of Italian socialism. Local congresses are multiplied, but the efforts to establish national ones have failed. The same observation may be made concerning their organs. The day when a centralized and strong organization of the Italian socialistic strength will have been reached, will be a sad one indeed.

Already in 1882 the order of the collectivist socialism was sent forth to take advantage of the new electoral law, to benefit by the elections, and to obtain seats for the socialists in Parliament; that was

decided at the conference, of the Romagna in February 26th, 1882, and in that of Tuscany on the 14th March in the same year. The circles of Turin and Milan gave the same order. There was some resistance, however; the anarchists who were tending more and more towards a separation from the moderates made a lively attack on methods, from which so much was expected, and which they considered puerile. They did not, though, stop the movement. "Voting," wrote the socialistic journal *Avanti*, "does not exclude shooting at the proper time."¹ The anarchist Carlo Capiro was obliged to submit to the resolution which had been adopted to take part in the elections.

The socialist action was not without results at the elections. Although Parliament has not many socialists as members, it was nevertheless shown that their vote was very heavy, and amounted to 49,154, a figure very important when the total number of votes cast is considered. The cities which gave the socialists the greater number of votes were, Forli, Imola, Leghorn, Mantua, Pavia, Pesaro, Urbino Ravenna and Reggio. Milan contributed 12,000 votes.

In 1882 quite a number of socialistic organs were published. *La rivista Democratica*, in Turin; *La Lanterna*, in Florence; *Il sole del Avenire*, in Ravenna; and others which had discontinued publica-

¹ *Der Sozial Demokrat*, 23d March. The organ of the German socialism in quoting the *Avanti* takes care to add that he agrees with the Italian.

tion resumed it: *La Favilla*, in Mantua; and *La Plebe*, in Milan.

One of the principal agitators of the peninsula is the deputy Andrew Costa. When he was elected the question of taking the oath came up. It would suffice to read the *Sozial Demokrat*, or to ask oneself what an oath can be in the eyes of men professing atheism, to understand that that troubled Costa and his colleagues very little; in fact it was admitted by their press, and in their meetings, that the formality of an oath ought not to be an obstacle in the way of preventing the receipt of all the advantages obtained for socialism by this election.

In 1883 and 1884 the German organ, in Zurich, congratulated Italy on the socialistic success. We wish to believe that it was not so great as was represented, but some progress had been undoubtedly made. In the supplementary election, held in the month of January, of that year, the socialist candidate in Parma, Dr. Musini, received 3,666 votes, his liberal opponent getting only 3,351. What is more serious is the fact, that the movement has reached the country districts, particularly in central Italy. How could it be otherwise? Why should not the inhabitants, suffering severely, whom irreligious men are merrily depriving of faith, not become victims of a doctrine which flatters their hopes and excites their passions? How can populations respect the rights and titles of property when they see

the government trample on claims as sacred as those of the Propaganda? The logic of socialism is irresistible. If the state of king Humbert has the right to lay hands on the property of the Propaganda, why should not Andrew Costa have the same right?

To judge of the relationship existing between the Italian and the French, German and cosmopolitan socialisms we ask our readers to cast a glance on the platform of the democratic and socialistic party of Romagna. It may be resumed under the following heads:

1. Spread as much as possible socialistic ideas.
2. Organize solidly the elements of the party.
3. Assist in and provoke by strikes, the struggle against the power of capital.
4. Take interest in all political and economical reforms.
6. Take a very active part in local elections, so that control may be obtained in the districts.
7. Select workingmen and socialists as candidates for Parliament.
8. Favor and stir up, if necessary, popular manifestations against economic and political privileges.
9. *Attack constantly and without mercy* all religious prejudices.
10. Be ready, through all means, for the day when the great struggle will come.

In a recent congress, where eighty delegates were present, the socialists of Romagna changed the title

of their party; it is no longer the *socialistic revolutionary party of Romagna*, it is now the *Italian revolutionary party*; because it now has sections through out all Italy.

VIII.

POLAND.—We feel obliged to insert a new chapter here in reference to unfortunate Poland. Collectivist socialism, it is no longer permitted to doubt, has penetrated Russian, Prussian and Austrian Poland.

To establish this fact we will not recall the names of the Polacks who fought in the army of the Commune, in Paris, neither will we speak of those who have been in the ranks of the Russian Nihilists, nor will we refer to the conspiracy recently discovered in Warsaw. Besides, that conspiracy was not as the Journal of St. Petersburg sought to have it believed, of Polish origin. It was a Russian attempt in which some Polacks took part. And nothing was proved to show that Judge Bardowsky, and his Polack associates, were socialists. They were Panslavists, and according to our information, were carrying on the Russian propaganda. It is not the first time we have panslavism and nihilism associated.

But we have other proofs to establish the progress of the socialistic propaganda in Poland. As for the Grand Duchy of Posen, it is enough to cite the testimony of the deputy Jazdzewski, who made the fol-

lowing declaration in the German Parliament, on the 2d of March, 1884, on the occasion when the law against socialists was debated: "Up to 1878, until the law of October, 1878, there were no socialists in the Grand Duchy of Posen, at least no Polacks had become socialists. But I can affirm that since then, a socialistic movement has taken place—indeed, up to the present a moderate movement—among our laboring population; those of my colleagues, whose duties put them in a position to observe better the march of affairs, will confirm, I am sure, what I have said."

In 1883, about the commencement of the month of March, forty-three socialists were arrested at Cracow and Lemberg. This proves quite convincingly that Austrian Poland had not been able to shelter itself, completely, against the socialistic invasion.

But in Russian Poland, after considerable efforts, socialism seems to have got the elements it wanted.

Let us listen to a correspondent of the *Sozial Demokrat*, who—leaving aside some too partial observations—gives a fair account of the condition of things in the ancient Kingdom of Poland, as well as in Russian Poland.

"The Polish movement, which five years ago was considered unworthy of attention, is gradually, slowly, yet surely progressing. All hopes have not been realized; but when we look at the difficulties it had to overcome; when count is kept of the political situ-

ation of the country; and of the hostile attitude of the upper classes, we must say, that what it has done promises well for further success. We should not forget what has been done to prepare the ways for socialism; there was neither an anti-religious nor a democratic propaganda. One might say of Poland, more than of any other country, that all parties, as far as socialism is concerned is a dark mass of reactionaries and patriots."

"Notwithstanding all these obstacles, the Polish socialists have been able to establish in each of the three divisions of their country, a competent nucleus of sterling champions. They have succeeded in gaining the sympathies of the more intelligent workmen, and their pamphlet literature is doing wonderful service."

The movement commenced in Russian Poland; there is where the greatest results were obtained,

* * * With the impossibility of influencing the legislature, for the purpose of improving the education of the laboring class, it was necessary to confine all efforts to a revolutionary propaganda. For that end Warsaw contributed a large quota of agents.

* * * From the commencement of the year 1883 a secret association called *La Solidarite* exercised an influence in Warsaw. Its programme had a peculiar interest, and abandoned the national idea, which had such charms for Poland. It is like the socialistic programmes of other countries in this, that it decrees

that the soil and all tools for labor should become the property of the State, and absolute freedom for the press, speech, and meetings of the associates, religious, civil and national equality, complete emancipation of women, etc. It insists upon a complete union (*Solidarite*) of the toilers of both sexes, all creeds and all nationalities.¹

The socialistic group finally succeeded in getting an organ secretly printed in the city. The *Proletariate*, whose character may be learned from its motto: *Liberty! Manufactories! Soil! Workingmen (proletaires) of all countries, unite!* Another of the Polish socialistic organs, the *Przedeswit*, is printed in Geneva. It was the first to publish the *Soliderate*, and it called on the Polish laborers to forget the national struggle, and to commence a social one. "The Polish laborer,"² said it, "has remained too long in his torpor. * * * The national struggles by uniting all Poles against the foreigner, have destroyed in the hearts of the laborers, the sentiment of their social condition. They thought they saw in national independence a remedy for all their evils, and their attention was drawn away from the real source of their misery. * * * It is necessary to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of the privileged classes and commence a struggle with

1. *Der Sozial Demokrat*.

2. In the month of December, 1883, the German police succeeded in seizing, in Salesia, thirteen different publications of socialistic propaganda in the Polish language. They were printed in Geneva, Paris, Warsaw and Cracow.

them. A union with the down trodden of all other nationalities should be established."

About the commencement of the year 1883, a pamphlet was published by one of the old leaders of German socialism, Frederick Engels, entitled, *From Utopia to Science! History of the Development of Socialism*. This made a stir among the socialists; it was translated into many languages, not omitting the Polish, and the latter translation was published in Geneva, from the same press, in the same city which puts forth the Polish socialistic organ. Evidently socialism is making headway in Poland, and it is to be hoped that to the woes which have fallen on that unhappy country will not be added the worst—a fierce war of social classes.

Since the month of May, Polish socialism possesses a monthly review, published abroad: *Walka klas*, (The Struggle of the Social Classes).

We end this chapter by recalling a tragic event which happened in June 1884; it teaches that the Poles have learned something from the nihilists, and that they are not alarmed at the means to be used to reach their union. A member of the socialistic group of Warsaw was assassinated as an informer. The Central Committee issued secretly the following proclamations:

"Considering that irrefutable evidence establishes the fact that Francis Helsing, member of the association of laborers (*proletariat*) in Zgierz, (Russian

Poland), has become an informer, without being able to adduce the least excuse.

The Central Committee decides:

1. To prevent Francis Helcher from doing injury to the association.
2. To punish him for his treason.
 - a. The said Helscher is condemned to death.
 - b. The committee of workmen at Zgierz is charged with the execution of the sentence.

Warsaw, 28th May.

This sentence was executed on 6th June of this year.

(Signed) CENTRAL COMMITTEE.¹

The *Sozial Demokrat* thinks this proclamation requires no comment, and so do we, but for very different reasons.

IX.

RUSSIA.—The study of the Russian revolutionary movements belongs rather to the second part of our work. Nevertheless we believe we ought to call attention to the efforts for the propagation of socialism during the last two years. The relation of these Russian and German revolutionaries have become more intimate and frequent. Wera Sassulitsch wrote

1. *Der Sozial Demokrat*, 3d July 1884.

to the German socialists at their reunion, in Zurich, on February 12th, 1882; a correspondence between the Russian revolutionary, Lawroff, and the German socialist, Vollmar was held in the month of March in the same year. About that time, too, appeared in Russia, the second edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist party*, by Karl Marx.

Lawroff is a socialist; he desires that property should be collective, but he is satisfied if it be held collectively by the Commune. He does not put forth insurrection as Bakounine does for a means to obtain his end. He insists first upon educating the people as the Germans are, with socialistic ideas. He has recently, perhaps, changed his tactics, but he is a socialist before all.

Russian socialism has many organs. The editor of one of them, *The Tscherny Peredjel*, Plechanoff, has said in his introduction to the translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist party*: "The socialistic movement in Russia is not confined to those social strata, which people are accustomed to call the youth of the universities, the laborers of intelligence, and so forth. The workmen of our industrial centres have in their turn commenced to reflect, and are looking forward for their deliverance. Persecution on the part of the government can do nothing; the associations formed among the laborers are holding their ground, and even progressing.

At the same time the socialistic proselytism is

always growing, and greater and greater is the demand for the popular pamphlets which explains its principles. It is very desirable that the literature furnished to the laborers should abandon the crooked way of the doctrines, more or less false, of Boudhon, to spread the teachings of Marx and Engels.¹

In the month of May, 1883, appeared in Geneva, the *Almanack of the Narodnaja Wolja*. It contained an article of Lawroff, called: *Review of Russian socialism in the past and present*. The old revolutionary retracted the origin of the movement, which had brought upon him, public attention. It had become serious in the time of the *Internationale*. It had banished, said he, the hypocritical dreams of political liberalism, it found a scientific support in the workmen's socialism of the *Internationale*, and it was executed by the example of the revolutionary heroism of the Commune in Paris!

After having shown how the socialism of Western Europe, became the basis of the movement in Russia, Lawroff speaks of the energetic propaganda among the cultivated and laboring classes, as well of the creation of a revolutionary socialistic literature; he takes note of the difficulties which arise, the dissensions which he has seen arising, the struggles that had to be made, and the bitter repression which ensued. He explains in fine, how all the parties

1. *Sozial Demokrat*, Nov. 23, 1882.

recently, by one common accord, united with the party of the Narodnaja Wolja; this is the conclusion of his article:

“The near future will tell whether this union of the different revolutionary parties can be maintained. * * Whatever may come, socialism has performed and maintained a work which can never be blotted from the history of Russia. It has succeeded in adopting the tactics of Western socialism to the special condition of the Russian Empire. Great obstacles were in the way, but there was no despondency, none of the principles of socialism were abandoned, no arms surrendered. * * * After ten years of struggle it stands erect and alone, face to face with a superannuated despotism, which continues to exist, thanks to the incapacity of Russian liberalism. As for the victory, the revolutionary only expect it from the hands of the people. It will be had, in the day when they will be imbued with the principles of *collective toil* and *collective property*, which alone have the power of bringing about a successful social revolution in Russia as well as elsewhere.”

These words of one of the principal chiefs, dispense us from all comments. They explain to us how the too famous Wera Sassulitsch could undertake, in her time, to propagate collectivist socialism by publishing at Geneva, in the commencement of the year, a translation of F. Engels' pamphlet on the *transition from an Utopian* to a scientific socialism.

Wera, the shot of whose revolver ushered in a long series of nihilistic deeds, says in the introduction to the pamphlet that the working class must be taught the knowledge of its social strength. "And for that end," adds she, "let us put aside all apprehension of the inefficiency of the theory of scientific socialism. Let us not fear that it will bring our revolution to barren procrastination. We must endeavor to study the theory well, and deeply, to avoid having the appearance of copying seriously our brethren of Western Europe. We ought to be in a condition to enter the struggle with independence, and to be able to give the movement a character corresponding to our country."¹

X.

SCANDANAVIA—Socialism made an early entrance into Denmark, in consequence of a false liberalism; and a large increase in the laboring classes. There was a period of its development marked by a pause produced by the inglorious adventures of the agitators, Pio and Geleff, the encouragment received from Germany contributed to keep the movements alive, and since the year 1883, it has attracted attention.

1. Quoted by the *Sozial Demokrat*, Jan. 13, 1884. Some months ago, the Russian socialistic group, known as the *Liberator of Labor*, published its platform from which we make this extract: "The group of the Liberator of Labor has for its aim, to propagate socialistic ideas in Russia, and to unite there all the elements of socialistic labor party. * * * *
"To obtain a constitution useful to laborers, the leaders must set about organizing secret societies among the workmen in the large industrial centres."—*Sozial Demokrat*, Aug. 14th, 1884.

The socialists of Copenhagen organized a procession in which 20 circles of workingmen appeared with 31 red banners. The subscription to the *Sozial Demokrat* were greatly increased; and on the first of December it enlarged its form.

An extremely powerful impulse was given to Danish socialism by the famous congress of the Germans, held in Copenhagen in the rooms of the Danes, from the 29th of March to the 2d of April, 1883. Starting from that, Danish socialism advanced from enterprise to enterprise, from success to success, from audacity to greater audacity. The *Sozial Demokrat*, published in Copenhagen, has a daily circulation of 13,000; a weekly organ of the party appears at Aarhus. In the election of 25th June, last, seats were won in the Danish parliament (*Folkething*) for two social lists, and for the friends of the movement. At Copenhagen, P. Holm, a tailor, and one of the leaders of the party, was elected by 5,385 votes against 4,493 obtained by his opponent, Prof. Goos, editor of the *Dagbladet*. In 1872, the same constituency only gave the socialist, Pio, 192 votes. Twenty days after the election, on the 5th June, a triple manifestation was seen in Copenhagen, of the pretended conservatives, liberals and social parties. The first two were able to form a united body of 4,000 men; while the socialists had a procession of 90 associations, 21 bands of music, with 80 red flags, forming a line of 15,000 men.

The following detail may be characteristic. When the news of the successes of the election reached their German brothers in the Reichstag, a telegram of congratulations was immediately sent to Copenhagen. The answer given was a general greeting of good to the socialistic democrats of all the world.

Sweden, which has few factories and large cities, and all of whose inhabitants, nearly, possess some property, one would have thought closed against socialism, but it is also stricken with this disease; less markedly, probably, than Denmark, certainly less than Copenhagen.

A man of great activity and resolution, worthy of a better cause, has succeeded within the last three years, in giving importance to Swedish socialism; the agitator, Augustus Palm. By profession, he is a tailor, like Holm, the leader of the socialists in Copenhagen; the trade of tailor has in all times filled the ranks of dissatisfied Utopians.

It might be useful for our readers to know some of the peregrinations of Palm, the tailor, to learn what an amount of energy may be dedicated to a revolutionary cause. Palm got his first instructions in Germany. He returned from there about the end of the year, 1881, and established himself first at Malmoe, where he collected the shattered remains of a former revolutionary effort. From Malmoe he went to Stockholm where he was badly received, and refused a place of meeting. Nothing daunted, Palm

assembled about one thousand workmen in a forest; there things went so well that the Carpenter's association offered him the use of their rooms, which they used for the meeting of their own members. After Stockholm came the town of Gothenberg, where the socialistic tailor obtained permission to hold his meetings in a Methodist Church which he rented. The police of Gothenberg showed less hospitality than the methodists; Palm was obliged to return to Malmoe where he founded his proselyting newspaper, *The Voice of the People*, (*Folksvilja*). That was in the spring of 1882. The resources not being sufficient, he had to suspend its publication, and more than ever he gave up his time to perambulating propaganda. He went through all the country. In 140 days he had held 79 meetings, and sold by thousands the first copies of his paper. Groups of socialists were organized at Calmar, Carlskrona, Helsingborg, Stockholm, Oscarkamm and Orebro. Nevertheless all his efforts were not rewarded with success. According to the *Sozial Demokrat*, of Zurich, the obstacles he had to meet were the police, and what is called in social language, the ignorance of the workingmen. Palm was never successful in Upsal, where he gave a number of public conferences, and where the students of the University fraternized with the workingmen. The *Sozial Demokrat* remarked this fact: "The Scandinavia men have not

fallen as low as the German students, who, in the matter of servility, are below any criticism."¹

The resources of which Palm was wanting formerly do not seem to be lacking now. His "Wish of the People" reappeared at the commencement of the year, at Malmoe; it is the official organ of Swedish socialism.

XI.

SERVIA AND ROUMANIA.—The relations existing between the Russian Panslavists and Servia could not fail to introduce into this country the revolutionary spirit, and that leads on, in our day, and rapidly to the socialistic ideas. On the other hand, panslavism generates nihilism, and that contains socialism. Consequently a marked leaning towards socialism is observed, for some time, in Servia, even in the ranks of the deputies in Parliament, (*Skouptchina*). The *Sozial Demokrat*, in its issue of the 12th January, 1882, was able to announce to its readers, that in the supplementary elections which had taken place, the radical socialistic candidates had triumphed everywhere except in Belgrade and Kragujewatz.

Servian socialism can boast some heroines. In the month of December, 1881, died Militze Theodorowitsch, not at an advanced age. She at first taught

1. October 25, 1883.

languages, and found opportunities by her pen, and by personal proselytism, to extend the circle of socialism. Being of the school of the nihilist novelist, Tschernischewski, she felt called to play a more important part. She had studied medicine in St. Petersburg, and had undergone, successfully, the first examinations, in that city, when sickness obliged her to return home, where she soon died. Melitza corresponded with the *Volkstaat*, the *Vorwärts* and the *Sozial Demokrat*.

In Roumania an unexpected movement took place among the peasants, in 1882. It gave considerable disquietude to the government. Numerous bands of peasants came to Bucharest, asking that the government lands should be granted to them. What produced that movement? Who has instigated it? What was the object of it? The press, the legislature and the government made some very strange conjectures. They believed in some alien interference. They talked of distributions of money, made by mysterious hands. There is neither distribution of money, nor a mystery, wrote a correspondent of the *Sozial Demokrat*; we know all about it, only a bloated middle class (*la bourgeoisie*), is unable to observe what passes before its eyes.

The *Social Demokrat* explains that the leaders of the socialistic movement had had translated for the use of the peasants of Roumania, the pamphlet of the socialist, Bracke: "Down with socialistic demo-

crats!" That with other workings of the same tendency, was thrown broadcast among the peasants.

"This propaganda, says again the *Sozial Demokrat*, made extraordinary progress among the peasants. Some symptoms of the movement were observed in nearly all the large cities. The people are not ignorant of the fact that the land belongs to them. And they understand, too, collective property. * * * They were often heard, this spring, declaring loudly that violence should be used against the large property holders, and their property given up to the Commune.

The people of Roumania join in our chorus:

To workmen the machine!

To peasants all the soil!

We are far from accepting all that the *Sozial Demokrat* asserts. It takes, evidently, its dreams for realities. A certain number of peasants, misled by the arts of cunning men are not the people. What must be admitted, though, is that socialism has got a foothold in Roumania; it is likely to keep it, and will not remain inactive.

XII.

SWITZERLAND. — Switzerland, which has always been an asylum for political refugees, is now for a considerable time, the home of collectivist and

anarchistic socialists. For instance, Backounine took up his residence there. There, also, is published the official organ of German socialism. Political refugees did not always endeavor to exercise around themselves revolutionary influence, but it is different with the socialistic exiles; their movement is by its nature, cosmopolitan or international; the problem that they pretend to solve is found in Switzerland, as well as elsewhere. The action then of those banished socialists has been felt.

This being the situation, one might be astonished that socialistic propaganda is not dominant in Switzerland. German Switzerland has many thousands of collectivist socialists, and French Switzerland, a considerable number of anarchists. Nevertheless the progress of socialistic propaganda has, due regards to proportions being made, been less in Switzerland than in Germany. Many causes which we may have already elsewhere enumerated, have brought this about. The Swiss workingman is unsettled and undisciplined, he moves about, (*nomade*), and is not subject to organization like in Germany. The socialistic leaders have great trouble in grouping satisfactorily their forces. In the month of November, 1880, we saw the Swiss socialists separate themselves from their German brothers settled in Switzerland, and establish a society apart; the organ of the former was the "Voice of the Workman," (*die arbiterstimme*), and that of the latter, the *Sozial*

Demokrat. To unite, to organize, to group their strength for common action was the order given by the leaders of both these sections of socialism. For this the principal agitators of the German section pervaded Switzerland time after time; they insisted just as much on the necessity of a better organization, as on the importance of any untiring propaganda.

Let us give some indications of what the socialistic movement is in Switzerland.

JAN. 1, 1882.—The *Volksfreund*, issued by Conzett, from weekly becomes daily.

MARCH 18th.—A banquet in Geneva in honor of the Commune in Paris, the old German socialist, Becker, proclaims a universal, social and democratic republic.

JUNE.—Socialistic demonstrations on the occasion of the death of Garibaldi, at Berne, Zurich, Geneva.

JUNE AND JULY.—Visitation for the purpose of propaganda of the German socialist deputy, De Vollmar; he speaks in Basle, Geneva, Zurich, Schaffhausen, Frauenfeld and Wintherthur.

JULY.—Two socialistic deputies are nominated for the Grand Council of Berne.

AUGUST.—Socialistic festival in the ruins of Voyden an immense gathering. The German socialistic leaders, De Vollmar, Kayser, Grillenberg. Motteler. Oppenheimer spoke.

SEPTEMBER.—The *Grutlirerein*, by 2456 votes

against 562 decides that Vogelsanger et Conzett shall continue the publication of the *Grutlianer*, in other words, the Grutleverein, (the Union of the Canton of Grutle), declares that its tendencies are socialistic.

A socialistic section is established at Berne; De Vollmar addresses one of its meetings.

OCTOBER.—The Circle of German Workingmen, by a vote of 50 against 30, separated from the party of the *Freiheit*, the anarchistic organ.

1883.—The movement of propaganda and organization commenced in 1882, continues. The Swiss and German groups fraternize.

MARCH 18.—The anniversary of the Commune is celebrated, as in every other year, by the different socialistic groups.

JULY.—Preparation is made for a workingmen's congress, to be held at Zurich. It is highly recommended by the organ of the Swiss socialists, the *Sozial Demokrat*. "Forward," cries out the official journal of German socialism. "On to Zurich!"

AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER.—Proselytising visits to Berne, Lausanne, Vevay, Geneva, Zurich, Frauenfeld and St. Gall, of the German socialistic agitator, Grillenberger.

SEPTEMBER.—The workingmen's congress meets at Zurich the 9th and 10th September. Its business is to consolidate the German and Swiss groups and thus give more effect and activity to the spread of

socialistic ideas. Nearly all the speakers lay stress upon the international union of workingmen. The agreement, long since prepared, was carried. The subscription of the German workingmen was made as that of the Swiss.¹ In the political questions regarding Switzerland. The Germans will abstain from voting; in economical and social the action of both sections will be in common.

In general the tone of the congress was moderate. Conzett denounces vigorously the use of dynamite and petroleum. "We do not combat," said he, "with the poniard but with the ballot." In the *Voix du Peuple*, which he edits, he sums up the report of the congress in these words:

"The foundation of the rampart against capital is there. This new alliance will afford the means of propagating the social idea far beyond the sphere of mechanics and trades societies, and of reaching the laborer in the fields, the servant, the peasant, and in fine all of the population which toils."²

The congress of Zurich put new life into the Swiss socialism, even more than the congress of Coire had.

1884.—The impress given by the congress is still felt. The socialists of Basle who were hitherto apathetic, bestir themselves. On 6th April they erected in the cemetery of the Lerstal a monument to the memory of the revolutionary poet, Aerwegh.

1. This subscription is but one cent for three months.

2. *Arbeiter stemme*, 15 September, 1883.

SEPTEMBER 1ST.—The same group hold a meeting attended by from three to four hundred members, to denounce all sympathy with anarchism.

“Socialism is gaining ground,” says the *Basler Volksblatt*, “and those who think they are acting wisely in ignoring its existence may one day repent of having followed the ostrich’s policy.” This statement is quite correct, nothing can be gained by shutting our eyes to the danger.

XIII.

NORTH AMERICA.—The relations between Europe and North America are of such a nature that any great economical and social movement made here must be felt there. If socialism had not been directly implanted, sooner or later it would have crossed the Atlantic, either in the stream of immigrants, or by the constant connection between the two worlds.

But socialism was directly introduced into America by its first leaders; they saw there a soil perfectly fitted to receive the seed which they wished to sow. Materialism of life and capital exercise there a domination unknown in most of the countries of Europe; the almost limitless freedom of the press, of the rights of meeting and association, all in fact that socialism asks for its propaganda was offered.

Nevertheless its progress was slower than anticipated. Two causes appear to have slackened its march. As the socialist propaganda was entirely carried on by German immigrants, the dominant or native element of the population did not take kindly to it. Besides the development of material prosperity absorbs the attention of the masses. The alarm put forth by a few socialists is lost in the bustle and noise of American life. In a critical movement only is it heard, and then socialism makes some rapid conquests, only to lose them when the crisis is over. Thus at Chicago, where, at the elections, in the great American crisis, the socialistic candidates polled over twelve thousand votes, in a few years later they did not receive one-tenth of that number.

Nevertheless socialism progresses at the present moment in the great Republic of North America. American collectivist socialism sent its delegate to the congress of Copenhagen; and we cannot describe the movement than by an abridgement of his report to the congress. This brought down the history to February, 1883.

According to him the socialistic propaganda commenced its work in the United States in 1868. It was then exclusively German, and it is only very lately that it has commenced to influence the industrial English speaking classes.

The principal instrument of propagation was the press. Many organs were successively established,

which had their days of prosperity, particularly at the time of the American crisis, from 1874 to 1878, then came decadence, brought on by the change in the general financial conditions, and by discords in the party. In the month of February, 1883, American socialism had three great organs. The *Volks Zeitung*, of New York, with a weekly and Sunday issue; the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Chicago, with a similar issue; and the *Tageblatte*, of Philadelphia, which appears only on Sunday. Of all the German newspapers in the United States only one has a larger circulation than the *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

The organization of socialism was very cloudy; discord abounded and the meetings were very stormy. Little by little apathetic members withdrew, and the radical elements rallied around the anarchistic flag, and the real socialist party was enabled to effect its constitution under the name of the Socialistic Workingmen's Party.

In the month of February, 1883, the regular members were only about two thousand, of whom eighteen hundred were of German origin.

Let us not, though, deceive ourselves by miscalculating the importance of a body so numerically weak. It soon found means to extend its power, at first by its periodicals, which have considerable influence, and then by the skillful use of trade societies.

Obeying the order already given by the Interna-

tional, for the grouping of the workingmen in professional or trade associations, American socialism very energetically attended to their formation.

In a report presented to the congress of Masonic lodges, held at Nancy, in 1882, we read these interesting lines:

“When under the inspiration of a lodge, a few masons, aided by outsiders, have formed a society, no matter of what kind, they must take care and not leave the direction of it to the outsiders. On the contrary, they must endeavor to keep in the managing committee of the society some few masons who will be the working centre of it, and who will continue to lead it on in the path of masonic aspiration.¹

The American socialists, guided by their revolutionary instincts, have followed absolutely the same system laid down at the congress of Nancy, they have sought to find entrance into trade societies and professional associations for the purpose of directing and leading them in the line of socialistic hopes.

Led us quote the report submitted to the congress of Copenhagen:

“The Socialistic Workingmens Party of the United States, is able to celebrate, it is true, only slight and transitory triumphs on the political field, and its actual situation besides is not very brilliant; but its

1. *La Franc—maçonnerie et la Révolution*, by Louis d'Estampe and Clondeo Jannet, Avignon, Seguin brothers; page 79.

success has been altogether extraordinary, and truly revolutionary, in regard to the socialistic reorganization of the trades, and to the influence, in the world of ideas on the opinion of the masses, and in the direction of the press. Any one who has passed ten years in the United States can notice the change which has taken place. It appears astonishing, but it is nevertheless true, the stream of socialistic agitation — almost exclusively German — has spread through many channels and leaks, over the full extent of the public Anglo Saxon life. The tone of the press, and above all the declarations of the thousands of lodges, secret societies and trades associations, in which the English-speaking workingmen are enrolled prove superabundantly what we have asserted. * * The idea of the collective ownership of the soil is well settled in public opinion, especially since the publication of Henry George's works. The board of statistics which the pressing reclamations of the workingmen have caused to be established in many States, gives evidence of the insufficiency of wages, and aids the propaganda in favor of collective production, while at the same time the excessive pretensions of the railroad and telegraph monopolists admirably serve our system, which claims for the state the control of all means of communication. Let there be the least shock, brought on by any crisis, and you will find the elements which the socialistic propaganda has collected, crystallizing and forming an or-

ganizations, possessing a power of which the last panic can only convey a feeble idea. In this situation one need not be astonished that the dominating classes, and particularly their chiefs, the monopolists, are preparing for the last struggle. The moment is not far off when, profiting by the influence they possess over the legislatures and the tribunals of the country, they will desire to use it to combat the emancipating tendencies of the working people; then the United States will witness events such as the old world can scarcely imagine."

Whatever may be the nature of the future combat which consoles for past failures, the maker of the report, it is without doubt that a certain fermentation exists in the economical and social ideas of the American people. Since the moment when the report was presented the socialistic movement has secretly gained in intensity. It is not our purpose to enumerate all the meetings, manifestations and publications which an active and lively propaganda creates. The congress of Baltimore which held its sessions on the 26th and 28th December, 1883, consolidated the organization of the Workingmen's Socialistic Party, whose periodicals, according to Dr. Zacher,¹ have no less than 50,000 subscribers and 200,000 readers. A correspondence from America to the *Sozial Demokrat*, on the 28th August, 1884,

1 Die rothe Internationale, page 159.

informs us that 74,000 copies of the report of the congress of Baltimore had been issued. The different sections of the party had increased their membership, and other sections had been formed in Beacon Falls, Cincinnati, Evansville, Gloucester City, Houston, Morrisania, Providence, Richmond and Yonkers.

A last detail we will take from the *Sozial Demokrat*. It says that thousands of subscription lists were circulating in the United States to obtain funds to assist the German brotherhood in the elections of October, 1884. American socialism, then, is not unmindful of either its origin or of its international duties.

SECOND PART.

ANARCHISTICAL SOCIALISM.

The press misuses, strangely, the term *anarchistic*: it is applied without distinction to all violent movements, and to all crimes of an antisocial nature. It is forgotten that socialistic anarchism is a system, provided with a definite dogma, and with distinct and designated disciples.

Proudhon had already taught a certain kind of anarchy, and employed that expression. But his anarchy was very far from that of the actual anarchists. It consisted simply of an absence, or suppression of government, and exalted absolute individual liberty. Order would result, according to Proudhon, so to speak, of itself, and from the free action of individuals, delivered from the shackles imposed upon them by the modern social system. This kind of anarchy does not and could not admit collective property.

Actual anarchism asks for a socialistic anarchy. It supposes, like Proudhon, the State or the govern-

ment, and consequently does not admit of property held in common by the State. It differs from the anarchy of Proudhon in these points, that it does not exalt the individual as he did, and does admit a property held outside of the State, collectively, by certain voluntarily joined groups.

It is easy then to see the distinction between anarchistic and collective socialism. For the former the State is everything ; it alone can be protector. For the latter, on the contrary, the State is the evil to be suppressed.

The question of the means to be adopted (*tactique*) as well as their principle, separates the two socialisms. The collectivist desires in place of the actual State, to have a State socialistic, and sole proprietor; to effect this it pretends only to use the means already provided, among these, not least, universal suffrage. Anarchism rejects the State, and everything belonging to it; condemns all the present society altogether, purposes to destroy it by all the means possible, and appeals to violence. Its principal allies are petroleum and dynamite; it despises political action and universal suffrage, which its disciples only employ as an occasional weapon.

Anarchism descends from the nihilism of Russia. There, a Russian, Bakounine, formed its present organization, and traced out its method in her revolutionary catechism. We give here an extract from

the first chapter of the catechism, which treats of a revolutionary toward himself:

1. The revolutionary is clothed with a sacred character. He has nothing personal in him. He is divested of interest in everything save one, of property, and even of a name. For him everything is absorbed in one object, one thought, one passion; Revolution :

2. He has broken absolutely away in the depths of his being from all actual social order, from the civilized world, with its laws, its customs and its morals. He is their merciless adversary; he lives only to destroy.

3. The revolutionary is filled with contempt for social theories, (*doctrinairisms*), and all modern science; he recognizes but one science—*destruction*. He studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and perhaps medicine, but only for the purpose of *destroying*. For the same end he gives himself up to the study of living science—that is to say, to the study of men, their character, their actual social conditions. His hope will always be to reach more promptly and more rapidly the destruction of those ignoble social conditions.

4. The revolutionary despises public opinions. He has the same contempt, and hatred, for morality of the day in all its manifestations. For him everything that proves the triumph of the Revolution is

legitimate, and everything which hides it is immoral and criminal.¹ * * *

Recent events have but too well convinced us that there are men capable of putting into execution the honorable teachings of the catechism of Bakounine. We do not comprehend how M. de Laveleye could have seen in the infernal rage for destruction, a parallel in the Christian doctrine of the end of the world and the first ruse of the *Dies iræ*.²

Dies ira, dies illa
Solvat seclum in favilla.

He would have been inspired in looking for a comparison in the Hell of Dante. When Dante descends into the domains of Hell, and reaches the deepest part of the "city without hope" he finds himself, face to face with the frightful landscape of the rebellious angels:

L'imperador del dolorosa regno.³

Thus when we penetrate to the lowest stratum of revolutionary socialism, we find Bakounine. No lower can we go, for he is the apostle of universal destruction, of absolute anarchy, or as he has himself named his doctrine, *amorphisme*.

Bakounine is not the only anarchist writer who has carried his hatred of society to delirium. We

1. Translated from the German, *The Revolutionary Catechism*, written in cipher. The prosecuting lawyer read it on 8th July, 1871, at the trial of Netehaief.

2. Le Socialisme contemporain, p. 223.

3. The ruler of the sorrowful kingdom.

will see what other madmen have written, and what deeds have followed their shouts of hatred. We may if there are any ties of relationship between collectivist and anarchist socialism. It is by asserting this relationship that the agents of the government of the German Empire produced to justify the severities of the law against socialists the excesses in the language of the anarchists. It is without doubt that there is no positive alliance between the two bodies; for they have fought each other vigorously from Marx and Bakounine to Bebel and Most, and to day the struggle is as lively as ever.

But, if there be no positive alliance between the two camps, the relationship cannot be denied. It is evident in this fact that anarchism and collectivism make their first appearance in any place always at the same time; in Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland and America. Most of the leaders of Anarchism have fought in the collectivist ranks. Bakounine was at first the colleague of Marx in the *Internationale*. Most sat at Bebel's side in the German Parliament.

Collectivism and Anarchism both are waging war against society; on this point they only differ in the selection of their methods and arms. Collectivism wishes to obtain a majority, through the workmen, over the actual organized society. Anarchism finds such a procedure too slow, calls for the aid of petroleum and dynamite, and studies in the precepts of

the commandments of Bakounine the methods of destruction. We saw, one day, in the German Parliament that the choice of either socialism, the anarchist or the collectivist was simply a matter of temperament. Ardent and violent characters, fed on hatred of society, become more early anarchists; and for this reason anarchism has more rapidly than elsewhere gained ground in southern countries.

The differences between Marx and Bakounine were already observed, on the entrance of the Russian revolutionary party into the *Internationale*; their separation was final in 1872, at the congress in the Hague, which excommunicated Bakounine and his partisans. They established the *International Federation of the Jura*, which gave birth to the *International Association of Anarchists*. It was founded under the form of a simple confederacy of national sections without a general council or a central control. From the first its adherents were from the French cantons of Switzerland, the South of France, Italy, Belgium and Spain.

An effort to harmonize the collectivists and anarchists was made at Ghent in the congress of 1878. An agreement was reached, which had a short life, and the men of the Jura and the Spanish delegates, and the Bakouninists, who had remained faithful to their leader after his death, refused to sign.

Our readers are aware how the party acquired ascendancy. An international anarchistic congress

was finally assembled in London in 1881. It called for destruction, declared war without mercy against capital and governments, approved of an anarchism stronger than hitherto known, and gave the signal for a new kind of social war. Let us observe the deeds and words of anarchism since that date in making again our inspection of Europe and America. Although nihilism may have its special features, and does not belong directly to anarchism, we think we ought to assign it a place in this second division of our work.

I.

GERMANY.—The strong organization of collectivist socialism in Germany prevented the rapid development of anarchism. Its partisans may have been somewhat numerous, and it is supposed they were able to introduce regularly some hundreds of copies of their official organ *The Freiheit*, (Liberty.) Its leader in Germany, in Austria and German Switzerland, is the former deputy John Most, born in Augsburg, Bavaria, on 5th February, 1846. Expelled from Berlin by virtue of the law against the socialists, he went to London and there published, from the 1st of January, 1879, his newsyaper *The Freiheit*, which, from the very first edition, showed an unprecedented violence in its tone. The con-

gress of Wyden pronounced its excommunication against Most and his well known colleague William Hasselman. The triumphal cries of the *Freiheit* on the occasion of the assassination of the Czar Alexander were of such a nature that even an English jury were astonished, and condemned Most to six months of imprisonment. After leaving his prison he went to America for the purpose of obtaining greater liberty. His paper becoming more and more sanguinary was suppressed in London; but is now printed in New York, and is introduced by all possible channels into Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

We will speak soon of the anarchistic assassinations in Austria. The *Freiheit* approved of them from the commencement. In its 18th number it shrieks; "If it is not possible to take actual society from its hinges, we may blow it off with dynamite."

The German press has frequently called attention to anarchistic plots, but sufficient light has not yet been thrown upon them. One though, which might have taken formidable dimensions, has had made a very lively impression on public opinion. It was to have gone into effect on the day of the inauguration of the national monument of the *Niederwald*. The deputy, E. Richter, was the first in a session of the committee named to draw up the law against socialists on 26th April, 1885, to speak about it; the minister Pulkammer did not deny in full chamber

the assertion of Richter. According to the German press by the revelations of the anarchist Rupsch, all doubts about it had ceased. The police made some arrests on the 5th and 6th July, and a quantity of dynamite was found at the place indicated by Rupsch. Light will soon be thrown upon the whole and the trial about to take place will enable us to learn if the German is up to the level of Russian nihilism.¹

II.

ENGLAND.—In England a fresh impetus was given to anarchism by the congress held in London, from the 14th to the 19th July, 1881. Forty delegates represented there some hundreds of groups, from the different countries of Europe and North America. To avoid attracting attention, the congress changed its place of meeting every day. The following resolutions were voted:

“The revolutionaries of all countries unite in preparing a social revolution. They will form the International association of revolutionary workmen. The headquarters of the association will be in London. Sub-committees will be established in Paris, Geneva, and New York. A section without an executive

1. At the trial the chief conspirators were found guilty and shortly afterwards executed.—*Trans*

committee will be created whenever a sufficient number of members may be found. The committee in each country will correspond among themselves, and with the chief committee, for the purpose of reporting progress, and facilitating the transfer of information. They will have at their disposition all the money needed for the purchase of poison and arms, and they will try and discover where mines may be established." * * *

"To reach our aim, that is the annihilation of sovereigns, ministers, nobles, clergy, great capitalists and those who live by the toil of others, (*exploiteurs*), all means are legitimate. Consequently there are reasons why special attention should be given to the study of chemistry, and to manufacture of explosive matters, these affording the most powerful weapon."

"There will be, at the side of the principal, an executive committee, or a board of instruction charged with the correspondance and execution of the decisions of the principal committee."¹

The London Congress was brought about chiefly by the efforts of Most, and of the nihilist Hartman, who was considered quite a hero. The executive committee immediately puts forth great activity. Incendiary writings were spread broadcast on the continent, and every effort was made to obtain money to purchase dynamite and infernal machines. In

1. Translated from the German, according to D'Zacher: *Die rothe Internationale*, pp. 73 and 74.

London, soon, besides the English section, French Irish and Slavonian sections were formed.

In the writings and the meetings of the anarchists, a truly infernal language is used. The only matters to be considered were plots and crimes to be perpetrated or glorified. In a meeting held on the 13th of March, 1882, the anniversary of the murder of Alexander II, it was declared, *his execution was a matter of necessity*; and the hope was expressed *that the punishment of all other tyrants was not far off*. Some days after the meeting held to commemorate the Commune, he terminated his harrangue with these words: "The bomb for the King, the ball for the man of the middle class, (*bourgeoisie*), the knife for the priest, and the rope for the traitor."¹

Only when the *Freiheit* belauded the Irish assassinations, did the government feel called upon to take some energetic measures. The *Freiheit* was suppressed. The principals finding no security further in London, left that city, where nevertheless, they seem yet to have something to say.

III.

AUSTRIA.—After the nihilists of Russia, the anarchists of Austria take front rank in sad prominence during the last two years. From a certain point of view these anarchists have surpassed the nihilists;

1. Translated from the German, according to Dr. Zacher. *Die rothe Internationale*, p. 75.

they have added to the vocabulary of crime a new species, and endeavored to have assassination for the purpose of stealing, considered as a political assassination, as if one crime were less than the other.

No population seems to have less disposition to violence than the Austrian ; if notwithstanding this, anarchism has been able to find in this population a soil so horribly fertile for its designs, what country can expect to find exemption from its sanguinary excesses.

The propaganda directed by the anarchists, Most, more easily obtained footing in Austria, as socialism was unorganized.

In 1881, the *Freiheit* counselled the workmen to engage in the study, and taught them how successfully society might be combatted by the use of dynamite. Incendiary writings, spread secretly, and the anarchist organ, the *Zukunft*, (The Future), continually excited its disciples. Insurrections of the people in the streets of Vienna were at first tried ; but the police stood firm, and these efforts failed. Then the leaders of the movement, entitling themselves *executive committee*, decided conformally to the order given by the *Freiheit*, to act hereafter, not in a body, but by individual and special attacks, so that dread might be carried everywhere. These attacks were not only levelled at the government, or at the police, but at men quite inoffensive, or even unknown, provided

that their deaths might in any way serve the cause of anarchists; they stood in the need of money; they assassinated to terrorize, to obtain money, and even for fanaticism's sake. Here is, in part, a list of the crimes set to the credit of Austrian anarchism.

JULY 4th, 1882.—Attempt made on the life of the shoe manufacturer, Merstallinger, in the hope of robbing him.

AUGUST 1883.—A revolutionary manifesto, spread broadcast in Vienna, declaring that it is time to act. It ended with these words: "Down with tyrants and spies! Down with those who fleece and deceive the people!"

AUGUST 10, 1883.—An uprising took place before the central office of the police.

AUGUST 25, 1883.—The *Freiheit* announced that Vienna would soon have some other surprises.

SEPTEMBER, 1883.—A series of disturbances is seen. Letters and other secret missives are distributed, containing threats and bearing the sentences of death.

OCTOBER 22, 1883.—The active propaganda (*propagande par le fait*), announced by the *Freiheit*, and by secret manifestoes, commences. A druggist's clerk, Lienhardt, and a soldier, Adels, were assassinated in Strasburg, during the night, by three anarchists, Stellmacher, Kammerer and an unknown. They had expected to have found in the druggist's store, poisons and money.

OCTOBER 26-27, 1883.—An archistic convention was held at Lanz-Enzerdorf, near Vienna. The delegates all accept the order of the active propaganda, and determine to oppose, by all means in their power, the upper classes, (*les exploitteurs*) and the agents of authority.

NOVEMBER 22.—Kammerer and Stellmacher attempt the life of Heilbronner, a banker at Stuttgarts. They rob him and pay over the money to the anarchistic treasury.

DECEMBER 15, 1883.—Kammerer succeeds in assassinating the police agent, Hlubeck.

DECEMBER 30, 1883.—At the Church of St. John, the evangelist, in one of the suburbs of Vienna, during the sermon of the redemption, by Father Hammerle, the anarchists created a panic among an immense audience, by shrieking, throwing stones at the pulpit, and produced such disorder that a catastrophe was inevitable, if the firemen had not succeeded in breaking down the doors and obtaining entrance.

JANUARY 10, 1884.—The broker, Eisert, and his family, were assassinated by Stellmacher and Kammerer, and the spoils went to the treasury of the anarchists for the benefit of the active propaganda.

JANUARY 20, 1884.—Stellmacher assassinated the police agent, Ferdinand Blösch.

In this way, we think, nihilism has been surpassed. The crimes here detailed cannot be doubted. They

were committed publicly, or admitted by the criminals themselves, and loudly justified by the anarchistic press. We will pass over the number of dynamite explosions during the year. An effort to avenge the execution of Stellmacher was discovered by the police in Pesth, and the conspirators were arrested; at the residence of one of them were found anarchistic documents, and unfinished bombs of dynamite.

The system of organization, confessed by Kammerer, is about the same as that adopted by the congress at London in 1881. According to his confession anarchists are divided into distinct and independent groups, but still confederated. They entertain mutual relations. Propositions made in one group are communicated to the other. A certain spirit of emulation was not wanting in the groups at the time of the *active propagation*, and each one was anxious to give some sign of life.

And indeed they did! They have bestowed upon the nineteenth century a species of fanaticism and a kind of crime of which former centuries were ignorant.

Let us examine the two types of anarchists which Stellmacher and Kammerer expose, authors of nearly all the assassinations we have enumerated. Justice overtook them, and they were hanged in Vienna, on the 8th August, 1884, the other on the 24th September following. The bodies were given for dissection; their lives and death, their declarations, and their

confessions, belong to those who would study seriously the phenomena of the social and moral world.

Stellmacher and Kammerer, the former was thirty year old, the latter was twenty-two, They had been soldiers, one in Germany the other in Austria. They had been socialists before becoming anarchists. Socialistic theories had taught them hatred against society, and their publications had indicated the promptest manner of satisfying it. The Press had completed what the teachings had commenced. It had destroyed in the souls of those ruffians all faith in God, and consequently all conscience. It had supplied other laws of morality than those which had always governed the world; the new morality of the revolutionary catechism of Bakounine, according to which *everything favoring social revolution is legitimate*. They came to consider themselves as heroes when they stole or murdered, and after their death their party has ranked them as martyrs.

All that we have said is confirmed by the confessions and declarations of those assassins. Stellmacher read, at the trial which led to his execution, a memorandum drawn up by himself, exposing the wrongs society had inflicted on him, and the motives for his crimes. The first words of his memorandum might make one shiver. "*Before everything, this is my profession of faith, I do not believe in God, for I can only believe what I know.*"¹

1. Vor Allem mein Glaubenbekenntniss, Ich glembe nicht an Gott, und zwar desshalb, weil ich nur glauben kann was ich weiss. (Vaterland, Vienna, 10th June.)

According to the Frankfort Gazette, Stellmacher kept up his defiant air to the foot of the gallows, rejecting all offers of religious assistance. He appeared to have been expecting a rescue by an anarchistic outbreak in Vienna. On his march to the drop he looked, with a very scrutinizing glance into the cells opposite the place of execution, then looked down with an appearance of having been deceived.

Kammerer had been a deserter and was tried by a council of war. The report of the military trial shows that he had confessed all the crimes charged against him, that he had committed them in the interests of the anarchistic party, and that he had no sorrow or regret concerning them. His defiant bearing, like that of Stellmacher, remained undisturbed. He retained, until the last moment, his murderous fanaticism; convinced that he had performed heroic deeds, and that his heroism was admired from afar. Like Stellmacher he expected to be rescued, and rejected finally, as a confirmed atheist, all religious succour.

In leaving with sadness and horror those two gibbets, of which anarchism has endeavored to make instruments of martyrdom, we are reminded, involuntarily of an observation, profound as it is true, of Count J. de Maistre on the discovery of crimes, and the penalties inflicted by human justice. It is known that after the assassination of Strasburg, on the night of the 22d October, all the investigation of the police

were without result. The police were even severely judged by public opinion, while really we now know that the circumstances were of a nature to plead in their favor. How were they to know that they were tracing out anarchistic crimes? Could they suppose that men who had never seen Strasburg had conspired in Switzerland to assassinate in Strasburg a man unknown to them. In a most unexpected manner was everything discovered, and with astonishment was it known that the murder at Strasburg was only the first of a series of anarchistic crimes. The Count de Maistre is right in saying:

“There is often in the circumstances which lead to the discovery of the most adroit criminals something so unexpected, so surprising, so *unforeseeable*, that men called by their profession or by their reflections to study such matters, feel inclined to believe that human justice is not deprived in its search of the guilty, of a certain extraordinary assistance.”¹

IV.

BELGIUM.—A radical tendency in Belgian socialism was always manifested. Its delegates stood in favor of Backounine, at the Congress of the Hague. The Belgian International was duly excluded from the general International by the general council at the sessions in New York.

1. Soirées de Saint, Petersbourg.

Afterwards the collectivist socialism and Belgian socialism showed some disposition to fuse. In 1877 most of the Belgian sections adhered to the Congress of Ghent.

Since that period we have seen the efforts made by German socialists, to organize the Belgian movement, which is yet very far from being completely Marxist. Mr. de Laveleye cites from the socialistic journal, *le Mirabeau*, the following passage: "Who-soever has not worn the rags of want cannot desire a true revolution. Only the workingman can bring that about. Let them employ against him all the arms they like. Eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Set at work, fire and iron, poison and petroleum. Let us make a clean sweep. Down with that rotten society of which our misery and our ignorance are the foundation. As conquerors we will build up another society founded on labor and justice."¹ This is clearly the language of anarchism and the *Freiheit*, of Most, could not have said it better.

In fact, Belgian radical socialism was grouped for many years past, under the name of the *Revolutionary Union*. It held many congresses and had its organ, the *Perseverance*, published at Verviers. It kept up, in 1871, a regular correspondence with the organizing committee which prepared, in London, the famous congress which gave new life and system to anarchical socialism. The Belgium groups were

1. *Le Socialism contemporain*, page 264.

in favor of a formation made of separate and independent, yet confederated bodies. They submitted to the committee a proposition concerning the use of explosive materials, which was duly considered by the congress.¹

In the month of February, 1883, Belgium had in its turn, an explosion of dynamite bombs. The anarchist, Metayer, who carried the bomb was killed by it, and this led to the arrest of another anarchist, Civoct, a person too well known in France. What had brought these foreigners into Belgium? How were they able in so short a time to form an alliance with a group of cosmopolitan revolutionaries? Do we not see here the mysterious tie of the International association established by the Congress of London? Was it not the union created by this association, which dictated the fanatical discourses pronounced over the grave of this anarchist hoisted by his own petard.

V.

SPAIN.—We have already said, that in southern countries, the temperament of socialists favors an anarchism. This is particularly true of Spanish socialists. Backounine early gained them to his side. Four Spanish delegates were in favor of the father

1. Du Rancher, page 100.

of anarchism, in the Congress of the Hague, with the Belgians and Jurassions. In 1877, at the Congress of Ghent, the Spaniards were true to their traditions and would not accept the compromise made with the Marxists. Finally, in July, 1881, we find a Spanish delegate at the anarchist congress of London.

To-day, no doubt there are many collectivist socialists in Spain, but the anarchists by far outnumber them. The latter decided on their platform, and their organization in the congress of Barcelona, on the 24th and 25th September, 1881, when 149 delegates were present. The kind of Socialism they represented was one seeking the political, social and economical emancipation of the workmen; it aims at an absolute autonomy for federated communes, it believes that end cannot be obtained except by the violent overthrow of the actual organization, which overthrow is to be brought about by the mutual action of the laboring classes.

But how are the laboring classes to be drilled and disciplined for this attack on society? The Spanish anarchists, for that purpose, lay down a rule that the workingmen should be grouped into trade and professional associations, for which an anarchistic leadership should be provided.

Since the 25th Sept., 1881, up to date, the anarchists have held three considerable congresses; one at Seville, where the sessions lasted from 24th to the 26th Sept., 1882; one at Valentia from the 4th to

the 7th October, 1883; another one again at Seville on the 24th September, 1884, and on some days following. At this last congress, 251 delegates, representing 492 sections, composed of 49,590 members. Le Revolti, of Geneva, rejoiced over these figures, which indeed prove that Spain has not seen the last of her tribulations. The principal organ of the anarchists of Spain, is printed at Madrid, and has 10,000 subscribers.

The language of the organs of Spanish anarchism is usually as violent as it is impious. The revolutionary calendar (*calendrier revolutionnaire*) considers the 18th of March as the glorious day for the workingmen, and has special outrages for the Church, for the marriage state, and the family.

Thus anarchism, which has already got to its credit the horrors of the movements in the Cantons, the arsons of 1881, and many acts of personal violence, has recently thrown its energy into strikes.

May we impute to it the crimes committed by the Black Hand, (*Mano Nera*)? This formidable secret society excited, in 1882, and in the commencement of 1883, a vast agrarian and industrial agitation, chiefly in Andalusia, which during six months was the seat of all kinds of brigandages, strikes, nocturnal attacks, personal imprisonment, without excepting even assassinations. The government succeeded in arresting a number of the conspirators of the "Black Hand," and revelations were made; the organiza-

tion of the society was made clear, and its secret tribunal disclosed, and it was found that more than fourteen sentences to death had been pronounced. Nevertheless it was impossible to prove for a certainty that the *Mano Nera* was affiliated to the anarchistic federations. The *Revista Social* loudly refused to recognize association with the men of the "Black Hand."

We refrain from giving a decision which the Judges of the country declined giving. We will take the liberty of saying that if the "Black Hand" was not a part of the anarchistic federation, it had borrowed from it not only its means of action, but also its principles. We read, in fact, the following in its statutes: "The earth exists for the common benefit of men. It becomes fertile by the labor of the workmen. The present organization of society is absurd and criminal. Only the workmen produce, and the lazy rich have them in their claws. Therefore we can not be filled with too great a hatred of all political parties. The association declares the rich deprive of the rights of men, and that all means to destroy them are good and necessary, not excepting the sword, fire or even calumny."¹

Evidently nihilism or anarchism had a word to say there.

1. E. do Laveleye, p. 276.

VI.

FRANCE.—The French anarchists have given some signs of life, particularly at Monceau-les Mines, and at Lyons. The commotion through the whole country was so lively that one might have thought that a period of nihilistic terrorism had fallen on us. We were soon calmed down, but those who up until then, refused to believe in the social question, felt disturbed in their skeptical quietude.

We have already spoken of the influence exercised by the anarchist, Bakounine, chiefly at Lyons and Marseilles, since the year 1870.¹

That influence has not been lost. When anarchism again commenced to raise its head, and to form groups, it found in France its very best elements, wherever the hand of Bakounine had been chiefly felt, and near Geneva where the principal organ and its most energetic leader existed. The trial of the anarchists at Lyons, in January, 1883, has brought to light their mysterious efforts.

Here is an interesting description addressed to the audience on the 17th January, by Mr. Perzandin, special commissioner of political police, We make place for it as it corresponds so well with the intrigues of the anarchistic party in other countries:

“According to my view, the anarchistic party was founded in Lyons, only in 1880, as the result of a

1. *Le Socialisme contemporain*, page 117.

regional congress, where the workingmen's party was split in trio, *Suffragists* and *Abstentionistes*. Bernard was at the head of the latter division, which was without importance at first; through his energy, it was soon widely extended, particularly in the different wards of Lyons and the neighboring cities. It became the revolutionary federation of Lyons.

"On the 4th of July, 1881, the federation was already quite strong, as at that date a private meeting nominated *Krapotkine* as its deputy to the Congress of London, to be held on the 14th of the same month.

"In August the party covered the city walls with two manifestoes, preaching the necessity of refraining from voting, and proclaiming a violent revolution to be carried on by all possible means. This was on the occasion of the election of candidates for the legislature."

"After the passage of the law concerning the press and the right of meeting, the party became stronger and stronger, and no longer respected anything."

Prince Krapotkine was not the only delegate of the French anarchists in London, nor was Lyons the only large city in France with anarchists within its walls. Right after the congress in London, the International Revolutionary League was founded in Paris, and direct relations with the anarchists of London were at once established; in the meantime in

other industrial centers, federations sprung up, which affiliated, too, with the anarchists of Geneva.

These facts correspond with what we know of the organization of the International Association of Revolutionary Socialistic workingmen, created at the Congress of London, and at which it was proved that sub-committees would be named for Paris, Geneva and New York.

The Revolutionary International Federation of the East, which had its headquarters in Lyons, and was spread over many departments, was the most important division of the party in France. It had its special organ, which on account of the many judicial condemnations which it underwent, was drawn to frequent changes of name, and was known as the "Social Rights," (*Le Droit social*), "The Revolutionary Standard," (*L'Etendard révolutionnaire*), "The Struggle," (*La Lutte*), "The Black Flag," (*Le Drapeau noir*), "The Challenge," (*Le Défi*), the anarchistic hydra.

The anarchistic groups in the coal regions of Montceau-les-Mines, which have acquired so sad a notoriety, had also relations with Lyons and through Lyons with Geneva. The excesses committed there first brought to light the existence and the development of the anarchistic party in France. It is important then, here to specify the details our readers may recollect were made by the liberal press to contest the anarchist organs, of the troubles at Montceau-

les-Mines. They could not be attributed to any economical or disciplinary measure of which the workingmen might have been dissatisfied, as no complaint of that kind was made by them. The economical conditions were exceptionally good. The average daily wages of those working in the mines was 4.58 francs and 3.64 francs for general laborers, women and children included. Every institution which elaborate laws have introduced, to solace the sick, the aged, or the disabled workingman, had been voluntarily established at Montceau, by the mining company. The sum paid by it to the board of aid was far greater than that now imposed by a law recently made in the German Parliament. In 1881, the sum paid by the company was 261,000 francs, while the subscription of the workingmen was only 149,000 francs. The arrangements by which the workingmen could become proprietors of their own lodgings were very favorable. Finally, thanks to a superannuation fund, they could, at 55 years of age, or sometimes at 45, retire with an annual pension of 900 francs.

During the taking of evidence before the Court at Riom, where the rioters of Montceau were tried, there was one striking scene. Mr. Chagot, the director of the mines, after having given his testimony with firmness and calmness, turned towards the accused and asked them if they had anything to reproach him. They all, without answering, hung

down their heads. Not being able to accuse him of having acted harshly, the miners objected to his religious sentiments; they both said and wrote that his clericalism was the cause of all the troubles. In reading the melancholy details of the long report of the trial at Riom, the noble answer of Mr. Chagot gives some consolation: "I leave to every one," he said, "the freedom of their opinions, but I, too, using my liberty, will not allow in my place anti-religious manifestations."¹

The anarchistic origin of the riots at Montceau was clearly demonstrated at the trial in Riom. From Geneva and Lyons the orders had come.

On the 13th and 14th of August, 1882, was held in Geneva, a meeting of anarchists. The groups represented there belonged to the federations of Lyons, Villefranche, Saint-Etienne, Vienne, Montceau, Paris, Bordeaux, with those of the Jura federation, there were fifty members united, not counting the delegate from Italy. The representatives from Montceau, although laying stress on the difficulties of forming groups there, made this declaration: "We are determined on action."²

The meeting at Geneva drew up a manifesto from which we extract the following:

"Our master is our enemy; we are anarchists."

"Anarchists, that is to say, men without a ruler.

1. At the trial, Friday Evening, Dec. 15, 1882.

2. At the assizes in Riom, Wednesday, Dec. 20, 1882.

We combat those who have seized upon any power whatever."

Our enemy is the proprietor, the master, (*patron*) the factory superintendant, (*chef-d'œuvre*) the state, the law.¹

Having seen what was done in Geneva, let us see what advice was sent from Lyons. The *Droit Social*, the anarchistic organ, had stopped its publication some weeks before the riots at Montreal, and was replaced by the *Etendard Revolutionnaire*. The *Droit Social* announces its successor in the following manner :

"It will call out to the middle class (*la bourgeois*) culpable and encapable as it is: Sing your *Te Deum*! Before the last sentence is reached we will have triumphed, declaring always death to those who live on the workingmen (*exploiteurs*) * * * !"

The copy which contained that extract was found on the table of one of the groups, representing Montceau at the meeting. The *Etendard Revolutionnaire* soon followed:

"A revolution having for its aim a political overthrow, would be received with indifference, but a general conflagration, dragging with it millions of famishing people, who wish to satisfy their hunger by what power could it be suppressed? How many cities, towns, villages, hamlets, where there being no soldiers, the movement might commence.² There

1. At the assizes in Riom, Wednesday, Dec. 20, 1882.

2. Advice to Chicago.

is where it must commence. Lay hands on the places where the soldiers have been withdrawn.¹

These lines explain it all. The coal district of Montceau was in the condition pointed by the *Etendard*. It had a population of many thousand workingmen, with no police or military force. The movement (*branle bas*) was commenced during the nights of the 11th to the 12th August and of 12th to 13th and 13th to 14th. Destruction of crosses was commenced, and the one at the sisters' school was blown up with dynamite. In the night of 15th to 16th August, a band broke into the chapel at Bois-deVerne, where everything was either pillaged or destroyed. An alarm was given, other bands came to recruit the first one. In the midst of savage shrieks the church articles and furniture were burned, the mob increasing all the time, marched toward Blanzay, where one of the chiefs cried, halt. It had been expected that a movement would have taken place at some other point. That not having taken place it was thought better to stop.

What would have happened, if a circumstance, on which the judicial enquiry does not seem to have thrown sufficient light, had not prevented the complete execution of the leaders' plan? Our duty, as an historian, does not allow us the use of conjectures. One thing is certain, that the iconoclasts of Montceau belong to the anarchistic camp. Its organ at Geneva

1. Court at Riom, Wednesday, Dec. 20, 1882.

has not even tried to conceal that fact. It congratulated the voters. "What a splendid commencement!" it exclaimed, "What a revolutionary chastisement! It is not possible that so heroic a propaganda can remain for a long time fruitless."

The organization of the anarchists is the same we meet every where else. Distinct groups were formed, meeting at first in the woods, and they were called The Black Band. Conformably with the custom elsewhere, enabling them to meet the more easily, they mark themselves by the form of local political committees. The names of some of the groups have significance:

Revolutionary group.

Red flag.

Pioneer.

Vanguard.

Red cap.

Young Montagne.

When the anarchists of Montceau came to trial, at the court of assizes, held at Chalon-sur-Saone, in the month of October, 1882, it was very evident that they were not alone. The system of terrorizing which recalled of the nihilists, at once, and on all sides was put in practice. Threats of all kinds were addressed to the judges, juries and witnesses; at the same time dynamite was exploded in Lyons. A fact hitherto almost unknown in our judicial annals occurred. Before judgment was pronounced the attorney-gen-

eral asked, and the court granted, the postponement of the case to another session, on account of the threats of assassination addressed to the witnesses and jurymen; threats indeed to which the explosion in Lyons gave some force.

The case was afterwards sent to the assizes at Riom. The dynamite explosion at Lyons, more than anything else, had contributed to bring about this and to throw a lurid light on the situation. At the session of the court at Chalon-sur-Saone, on the 24th October, this was pronounced. Two days before that, the explosions had taken place.

The explosions, better, perhaps, than the riots at Montceau, will give us some knowledge of the agitations and organizations of the anarchistic party in France. Let us lay down, rapidly, some facts. The *Courrier de Lyon*, a republican journal, will afford some idea of the stupefaction produced by those acts:

“This is no time for futilities.

A serious danger threatens us.

Yesterday, at the anarchistic meeting, a scoundrel, against whose provocations “the law is powerless, cried out:

“I have a wife and children, and yet I am ready to kill the President of the Republic and the commissioner of police here present.”

Yesterday, one of our friends heard some persons mingling in the crowd, say: “We are from Mont-

ceau, we will too soon be heard from." And at two o'clock in the morning an explosion, of which the consequences might have been terrible, brought horror to about two hundred persons, in the Bellecour restaurant, of whom fourteen victims were wounded.

A bomb of dynamite burst in the middle of the assembly. We cannot be deceived as to the authors of that crime. They are the miscreants who have been terrorizing the Saone et Loire, and renewing at Lyons—with more murderous results—the sad exploits at Montceau.

The explosion at the Bellecour restaurant was followed by another at the Recruiting Board. The public feeling was intense. The most severe measures, in the interest of order, were taken. The sewers and drains under all the public buildings were closed. A regular body of detectives, at the railroads, was organized, and every piece of the luggage at all suspected, was carefully examined.

The authorities at Lyons, Charolles and Autun, as well as the police, exhibited great activity. The principal leaders of the anarchistic movement were apprehended. Prince Krapotkine, who, after having been expelled from Geneva, had withdrawn to Thonon, in Upper Savoy, was also arrested. Very important papers, too, were discovered and seized.

The trials in the criminal court at Lyons, of many of the anarchists who had been arrested, dispelled all

doubts of the existence of their federation, and of the nature of its relations with Geneva, Paris and London. The court, after having been convinced of the existence of a district organization of anarchists, declared the accused responsible, in a certain measure, for the attack at Bellecour, and culpable for the crimes provided for by the law of 1872, against the *Internationale*, and pronounced very heavy sentences.

The accused naturally denied that they were members of the *Internationale* of 1872, no longer in being; but with the aid of the many documents and papers in his possession, it was not difficult for the prosecuting attorney to prove that another international association had taken the place of the first, that an anarchistic federation. He had the evidence of it in many letters of the leaders, Krapotkine and Gautier, in the circulars issued by the sections on the occasion of the congress in Lausanne, in the letter of the delegate of the federation of Lyons to the same Congress; in the letters addressed to the federations of Verviers and Ghent, as well as to those of Switzerland and Spain; in fine, in the titles in the bills posted to announce conferences of the "Revolutionary International Federation of the East."

We may judge of the activity of the anarchists of Lyons by a single fact; in a very short time they had held 24 secret and 13 public conferences. Before the court they made the same impression, as we

know they made elsewhere. Prince Krapotkine, whom we will consider again when we come to speak of Russian nihilism, gave his history. He concealed neither his past revolutionary career or his system and his hopes. A refugee in Switzerland, first under a false name then under his own, he had been a contractor of the work of Bakounine; as founder and editor of the *Revolte* he had been the soul of anarchism. The trial at Lyons showed him to have been at Lyons, Geneva, Thonon, St. Etienne, Paris and London. The life of his life was revolution. "I have always," said he, "labored for the consolidation of the anarchistic party. During all my life I have propagated its ideas." The locksmith Bertrand, one of the most active anarchists, made a similar declaration. "I serve a social revoltion, I do not think it can be brought about without force, and whatever verdict you may pass upon me, what I have done in the past, I will do in the future." Let us quote, too, the words of Gautier, the principal orator of the anarchistic federation of Lyons:

"We are some millions perhaps whose *delenda Carthago* means the destruction of authority. We believe that evil resides in the very idea of authority. We are anarchists, enemies of all government; for passions place in the hands of the governing classes an immense power. It is true that we are revolutionists, and we believe that force is our last resource. We have seen all former methods succeed each other

in the magic lantern of government. * * Force alone dominated. * * Force is everywhere.

Here is certainly an anarchist of the school of Bakounine. Here modern society is duly warned, here are the adversaries with whom it stands face to face.

Our readers will forgive us for having given as much attention to the anarchists of Montceau and Lyons, as the trials at Riom and Lyons. They will understand that the facts produced are of much importance in the appreciation of general as well as French anarchism. What we have exposed will dispense us from speaking at length of other dynamite explosions of more recent date; of the language of the anarchist press, which remains about the same; of a riot in Rouboix, and of their demonstrations in Paris.

We believe we cannot better terminate our notice of the anarchist movement in France, than by citing some reflections of Mr. Leroy Beaulieu, written about the time of the transfer decreed by the court of Chalon-sur-Saone, of the case of Montceau:

“The government—what has not been seen perhaps in the history of this century—interrupts the course of justice and postpones to another session a case which already had occupied seven to eight days, where a hundred witnesses had appeared; it dismisses a jury on the eve of giving its verdict and sends back to prison, and keeps in expectation, a

number of the accused, whose fate was about being settled. What is happening in our great land of France? Is it really a social struggle that is coming on? Is it simply the government adding another proof, to the many already afforded, of its stupefaction? In our belief both explanations are correct; it is certain, no matter what optimists may think, that in a certain division of French society there is going on, for a long time *a work of disintegration*.¹

VII.

ITALY.—The anarchistic movement has undergone many different fluctuations in Italy. Powerful under Bakounine it lost ground after his death. It signalized itself by some brisk enterprises in 1877, and then after the arrest of some of its leaders, declined again. About the same time in 1880, that anarchism revived in Lyons, it showed some signs of life in Italy. It was represented in the congress of London in 1880, by two delegates, Malatesta and Cafiero.

In consequence of the impulse given by that congress, the Italian anarchists became more numerous; nearly all the socialists of Central Italy refused to vote at the elections in accordance with anarchistic

1. *Economiste francais*, 10th year, No. 43, p. 460.

principles. The struggle between the moderate and radical divisions became very lively. The latter agitated a great deal in 1883, they took part in all the revolutionary demonstrations of Rome, Florence, and other cities, taking advantage of everything to keep themselves before the public, even using for that purpose, the anniversary of the establishment of the Roman Republic, or of the Commune in Paris, or of other days, which may recall the memory of those whom they entitled the martyrs of the social revolution.

Their most active chief, Malatesta, was arrested in Florence, in May, 1883. This arrest and that of his accomplices led to vast investigations, in the principal cities of Italy, in the interests of law, and it was not difficult to find traces of an anarchistic organization, having such extensive ramifications. Some groups were found in a finished condition, others in an inchoate. Malatesta and his accomplices were condemned to severe penalties on 1st of January, 1884. This condemnation, however, did not prevent the *Questione Sociale*, a weekly anarchistic publication from being published in Florence. In the month of September, 1884, fifty-five anarchists were condemned in Florence, nearly all though, in contumacy.

It is useless to insist on the extreme violence of the Italian anarchists as well in their meetings as speeches. The frenzy of blasphemy possesses them.

They exalt the great heads of the cosmopolitan revolution. On the 30th of March, 1884, an agent from Pistoia to Florence, carrying five hundred copies of a manifesto, apotheozing the Commune of Paris, was arrested. It was the second edition of a writing the police of Florence had seized at the railroad some five days before.

Italy has had notables at Geneva, as our readers know; her dynamite explosions too. The papers report that during the month of June, 1884, in consequence of this, and on the advice of the English police, the Italian police forwarded to the Vatican a recommendation to keep good watch in the interest of the Basilic of St. Peter, and the number of the guards of the public service, outside the Vatican was considerably augmented.

It is a sad spectacle, crowned resolution, defending itself against petroleum and dynamite.

VIII.

RUSSIA.—Everybody has heard of the Russian nihilists; nevertheless, the question of nihilism is to-day pretty well wrapped up in my story. Does this formidable movement belong to the social revolution, or is it purely political? In a recent debate on socialism, in the German Parliament, when two deputies, Mr. De Stauffenberg and Mr. Windthorst,

having expressed their fears, that a too violent repression might bring on nihilistic crimes, Prince Bismarck replied to them, that they misunderstood the character of nihilism. "The situation of Germany is entirely different from that of Russia." Said the Chancellor. "In Russia there is now neither a socialistic, or an industrial question. The Russian workingman is an Imperialist, and is ready to kill a nihilist if he were permitted. The nihilist does not come out of the ranks of the workingmen. * *

Their recruits are from rejected University Students, (*aus dem abiturienten proletariat.*) * * *

They are derived from an exhaustive supply of men whose education is incomplete. * * * The Russian nihilist is a kind of an addled person, bearing the particular stamp of his own country.

However felicitous may be the expression, *abiturienten proletariat* (the workingmen of the rejected University Students), we believe that the truth was as much on the side of Messrs. Windthorst and De Stauffenberg, as on that of Prince Bismarck.

We are far from wishing to depreciate the part played in the Russian revolutionary movement, by the reputed University bachelors and by the lady students. We have ourselves heretofore called attention to it, in a former publication. It is said, that out of 50,000 students in Russia, the schools send out into the streets about 6,000, whose material wants and whose aspirations

cannot be satisfied. Add to these figures the number of female students in the same condition, and we easily find an impression of the action of this working class, (*le proletariat*,) this class, by the way, which is rapidly in a state of formation elsewhere than in Russia. But a revolutionary movement of the extent and character of Russian nihilism, which has resisted, for a long time, so merciless a repression cannot be the work of some thousands of dissatisfied male and female students. It is true that nihilism has the stamp of the country only, but if we look closer, we observe that it has the features of the actual cosmopolitan molestation, and socialism is at the bottom of it.

Let us take a rapid review of the history of nihilism, aided as we are by documents which become more and more numerous. For us it is no longer a subject of doubt, that the source of nihilism, as of socialism, is found in the naturalistic atheism, which, through the schools, has invaded the vast spheres of Russian society. We will willingly say that it was both an unheard of want of foresight, if it were only want of foresight, that the public instruction of Russia was handed over to the impious sectaries and revolutionary refugees. Long ago, Joseph de Maistre, one of the many of our age ablest to foresee the future, wrote the following lines, in a memorandum addressed to the Emperor Alexander I.:

“There is but one sect: and no statesman ought

to be ignorant of it. It is at the same time one and many, and surrounds Russia, or to speak more correctly, permeates it everywhere, and attacks it in its deepest roots. The sect has no need, as in the sixteenth century, to get up in the pulpit to raise armies, or to excite publicly, the people to revolt. Its manner of action is not less adroit; it reserves the noise for the end. *All it wants now is the ears of children of every age and the tolerance of sovereigns.*"

We know that the Count de Maistre foreseeing, in some manner, the name to be used in designating the disciples of the immoral negation impeached by him, called the men whom he had marked out •Rienistes.¹ The Russian schools have kept the same tendency since the commencement of the century; the secondary educational instruction of girls, rivals in impiety the other establishments, and its literature is up to the level of the schools. The State or the power of the Emperor, believing only in himself, stifled all other social force. The enchainéd Russian church was absolutely powerless. Under such influences nihilism sprung into existence.

Russian nihilism went through the five phases through which the revolution in other countries passed, to reach socialism. In its first period, it was a *religious* philosophic and moral negation. "Nihilism," says

1. Nothingists.—*Tran.*

one of its recent and principal historians, "showed itself first on religious and philosophic grounds, where it had an easy game, as in Russia a priest is only a ridiculous personage, and the upper classes are no longer believers. The works of Feuerbach, Buchner, Moleschott, Darwin, Buckle, Spencer and Comte were translated and popularized. The young were completely captivated by the atheistic and materialistic movement."¹

The *political* war was not much behind the religious negation. Until after 1870, the nihilistic movement was in general, liberal and democratic. Rapidly then it reached the *social* negation, thanks to the influence of the *Internationale*, and who would have believed it? to the influence of the Commune of Paris on the youth of Russia. At that time the works of Proudhon, the *Capital* of Karl Marx, and the writings of Lasalle were spread everywhere.

Observe that nihilism, in as much as it is doctrine, is a western importation. It has invented nothing. Only in revolutionary practice has it shown a frightful originality. Assassination has been organization in a fashion never before attempted; and in the female nihilist it has produced the sad type of an "emancipated woman."

We are astonished that Prince Bismarck should not have recognized the socialistic character of the latest

1. Alphons, Thun, *Geschichte der revolutionären Bewegungen in Russland*. Leips c, 1883, p. 35.

development of nihilism. Its historian, whom we have quoted above, distinguishes our periods in its career; the period of propaganda from 1872 to 1875, that of revolutionary agitation from 1875 to 1877, that of the transition to terrorism from 1877 to 1879, and then finally that of terrorism since 1879. In a few words, let us characterize each period.

The impulse given to Young Russia, during the period of propaganda, came chiefly from abroad, through literature, through travellers, and by the personal influence of certain Russian socialistic agitators. Among these last, there are two, whose names will survive in the history of Russian Socialism: Bakounine, whom our readers know, and Lawrow, an ex-colonel, formerly professor at the military academy of St. Petersburg, and the most important Russian socialistic writer of that period. A center, or rather school for socialistic propaganda, was formed at Zurich, in Switzerland, around the University and the Polytechnic school of that city. In 1873, during the Summer term, there were not less than forty-three male and one hundred Russian female students in the University of Zurich. In the Winter term of the same year, in the polytechnic school, the Russian male students numbered ninety-four; of the hundred female students at the University, seventy-six were studying medicine.¹ When we reflect, with what principles these young people were imbued,

1. Alph-Thun. p. 66.

whose family education had been incomplete or vicious, we easily understand, how little difficulty Bakounine or Lawrow had to fanaticise their ardent imaginations. When the Russian government, notified of what was passing, forbade its students attendance at the University of Zurich, the purpose of Bakounine had nearly been attained; Russian socialism had at its service a little army full of valor and zeal, and capable of all kinds of adventures and audacities.

Nevertheless, in Russia the propaganda was not so easily organized. Many students were to be selected from. Many of the revolutionaries were in favor of a political movement; but the most of the agitators, with Bakounine and Lawrow, preferred social revolution. For them, social, and economical equality should take precedence of the political. A political revolution, said they, only brings about a change of masters. Bakounine and Lawrow indeed were not entirely in accord. According to Bakounine, the propaganda should not confine itself to the spread of socialistic and anarchistic doctrines, but should endeavor, at various points of the territory, to stir up insurrections, expected incessantly to maintain agitation in the country. On his part, Lawrow advocated, a more pacific propaganda, similar to that of the German socialists, Bebel and Liebknecht; conformably to this system, the revolution ought to take at first, root in the ideas of the people, and then of its own accord, to put itself before the public.

In the midst of their hesitations a magical phrase was uttered, "let us go to the people!" which attracted all the young revolutionaries. They all wished to mingle with the people, to teach them the rights and the manner of attaining happiness. Some were satisfied with making excursions here and there; others went so far as to abandon their career in the liberal professions and learn trades to be able to enter the workshops and to mix with the laboring classes. The propaganda even reached the prisons.

It was soon understood that there would be no serious result of all this if the peasantry was not reached and indoctrinated. To be less suspected, the propagandists painted their faces brown, and wrinkled their hands, and with false passports in their boots, their satchels full of socialistic and revolutionary works, went out at haphazard,¹ ready to stop wherever they would be well received. The women were the most enthusiastic. Some of them who belonged to high society, Nathalie Armfeld, Barbara Batjuskowa, Sophia Perowskaja, Sophia Lœschern de Herzfeld, and others were able to condemn themselves to the hardest and meanest work of the fields or in the factories. Sophia Perowskaja, who participated in the murder of the Emperor Alexander, giving to the conspirators the signal by a movement of her veil, at first went from village to village, vaccinating children; she was afterwards a

1. Alph-Thun, p. 95.

teacher in the province of Tever, and later practices surgery.

In the number of those propagandists we must count the young Krapotkine, who afterwards was to replace his countryman, Bakounine, in the leadership of the anarchists. He had been on the staff of the Governor General of Siberia, and was secretary of the Imperial Geographical Society.

The propagandist movement, under the zeal of a sudden impluse, had failed in concealing its schemes. The work of the nihilistic conspiracy was at its commencement. An energetic suppression, undertaken in the month of July, 1874, brought disorder to its ranks. In less than a year 700 persons were arrested and accused.

The success of the propagandists, though not corresponding with their enthusiasm, was not unimportant. In 1875 there were few provinces without socialistic colonies or associations. The disciples, though of the movement, were not numerous in the University cities.¹

Under these circumstances the revolution never thought of giving way before repression, for, although the more pacific elements of the propaganda had been paralyzed, other agencies might still be adopted. To this period of propaganda succeeded that revolutionary agitation.

Here were the apprentice days of the conspiracy.

1. Alph-Thun, p. 94.

No means of obtaining disciples were rejected. For the purpose of being more at liberty and to secure passports, young women contracted fictitious marriages. Leagues of students called *Communes* were multiplied, and secret societies, even in the country districts, were formed. Then came demonstrations, riots and strikes. As arrests became more common, associations were made to rescue or to solace the prisoners.

We may estimate, by one example, the power possessed by these latter associations. It was thought necessary to rescue Prince Krapotkine, who had been arrested and detained in the citadel of St. Petersburg. He succeeded in having himself, as sick, transferred to the infirmary, where the project for his escape was settled. He had observed that on a certain time, when the winter supply of wood was brought to the prison, a particular door was left unguarded. Through that door the prisoner had decided on escaping. It was necessary for him to be assured that no obstacle on the outside would be met with; for that purpose a friend's carriage was to receive him, immediately on his flight; besides, five men were stationed, from distance to distance, to give notice of danger; the duty of a sixth was to indicate the favorable moment and to give the signal by sending up a red balloon. Unfortunately a red balloon could not be procured in all St. Petersburg, and the one the conspirators themselves

had hastily made, did not go high enough to be observed by Krapotkine. The first failure did not discourage the audacious nihilist. A second plan for escaping was immediately agreed upon. The tones of a violin, on this occasion, took the place of the red balloon. Krapotkine was walking in the yard of the hospital, on the 29th June, 1876, wearing an invalid's cloak. The violin was heard for a moment, and then was suddenly silent, as a wagon, laden with wood, was going towards the gate of the hospital. The wagon went in, the violin was again heard, and Krapotkine was on the point of rushing out, when the tones of the violin stopped again, as at a distance, a patrol was crossing the street. Some moments passed, the violin recommenced, and Krapotkine, quick as lightning, threw away the cloak, darted through the unguarded gate and threw himself into his friend's carriage. The future chief of anarchism in western Europe was saved.¹

Notwithstanding the activity and the audacity of the conspirators, no brilliant result came of all this revolutionary agitation. This was the time of the war with Turkey, and the excitement of the war overcame that of the revolution. Nevertheless, three consequences may be mentioned. At first Russia became accustomed to secret societies; secondly, the trials which subsequently were held, gave opportunities to the nihilists to place themselves before

1. Alph-Thun, p. 145-146.

the public. In fine, the revolutionaries who had preferred social action to political, finding themselves crushed by the government, changed their minds. "The government, now," said they, "is the chief obstacle, we must commence a death struggle with it, and through a social revolution, reach the political." It was a terrorism which was brewing.

The revolver shot which Wera Sassulitsch fired at General Trepow, chief of police of St. Petersburg, on 24th January, 1878, introduced a long series of assassinations, which startled the world and inaugurated a new revolutionary era. History, no doubt, was acquainted with political assassinations before the existence of Wera Sassulitsch, but it never had experience of a vast and permanent assassinating organization; the creation of that was reserved to nihilism.

The revolver shot of Wera Sassulitsch has other claims for our attention. She was brought before a jury belonging to all classes of society, and on the direct issue whether the accused had or had not wounded the general; to bring about her acquittal, the jury decided she had not. Such an unheard of verdict was greeted by the crowds with an enthusiasm near unto frenzy. In the street the people rescued her from the hands of the police, and she was enabled to escape and pass the frontiers. A scene like this is fitted surely to teach the most sceptical reader the situation of Russia, and the results of the revolutionary propaganda.

The nihilist organization, which these last years have brought under our observation, was not completed in 1878. The struggle with the government added the finishing touches. The revolutionaries saw clearly the need of centralizing their forces, to act with greater unanimity and system, and that a merciless discipline was requisite. While their centralization went on in St. Petersburg, the system of terrorism was tried on the southern provinces.

It is by the trials and biographies of the revolutionaries condemned and executed, we are able to get at some of the threads of the nihilistic organization. The contraband press functionizes in the most extraordinary manner. The resources to be reached by the conspirators, in the principal cities, are known to the smallest details. The houses where a revolutionary can take refuge are marked; he knows where he will be concealed if he finds himself followed. Those who will conceal him are frequently government officials. Every nihilist has his allotted place; one is employed on the press, another is a distributor of nihilistic literature, a third has a charge in the imperial prisons, another is engaged in manufacturing deadly engines of destruction, a fifth may be marked out as an assassin. When the death of the Emperor Alexander was decided on, many of the conspirators disputed among themselves the horrible honor of being his murderer.

It must be said though, that the nihilist does not pretend to kill for the sake of killing. According to the theory of the Executive Committees, murder is a means of combat imposed by the circumstances in which Russia is placed. The committee's official organ, the *Narodnaja Wolja*, (The will of the People,)¹ condemned the murder of President Garfield, and on that occasion, declared that violence could only be used against violence.

Here, according to the almanac of the *Will of the People*, is the balance sheet of the Russian and Polish revolutionary movement since 1871 to 1882. It has had 101 legal trials; 31 death condemnations, 209 sentences to prison with hard labor; 190 sent into exile, and 134 relegated to prison. It has brought out a literature that merits some consideration. It has built up a press abroad, and in Russia itself.

Our readers may perhaps recollect the principal events by which the Russian revolutionary movement gave "signs of life" since 1882. From time to time, a steady silence was observed, or perhaps the exile of some few condemned nihilists is spoken of, then the optimistic press announces that it is all over with the Russian revolution, and that the police have squelched it; then suddenly, a crime prepared with santanic sagacity, and executed with unheard of audacity, horrifies the public and informs it that nihilism is still what it was. Since 1882, the under-

1. No. 7 and 8; r. Alph-Thun, p. 201.

ground work of the Russian revolution has never in the least been disconcerted.

In 1882, appeared in the Russian language, the famous *Communist Party Manifesto* of Karl Marx.

The *Narodnaja Wolja* announces a change of policy. Its editors recognize that the political power is the chief support of the existing system, and that consequently it has to be destroyed, to allow the people to realize an economical revolution.

The southern part of Russia is in agitation. Many arrests are made. The chief of the repressory agents, Strelnikoff, on the 8th of March, is assassinated at high noon, in the public square of Odessa, by the nihilists Zelwakoff and Chalturin. The assassins declare they have acted in accordance with the order of the executive committee, they refuse to make any other confession.

In 1883, it is publicly admitted that the Charkov is perfectly revolutionized.

A plot against the life of the Czar has been discovered and foiled by the police, through intelligence from abroad. Important arrests were made. Many compromised individuals committed suicide.

The concentration of the revolutionary societies shows progress, and they are uniting, the socialist party, properly so declared, joining that of *Narodnaja Wolja*.

The agitation in the month of March, was great. The newspapers report that the discovery of a con-

spiracy has led to the arrest of fifty officers in St. Petersburg. An immense quantity of dynamite is found in a house before which the coronation procession of the Emperor had to pass.

The Russian revolutionaries publish abroad their tri-monthly review *Westrik Narodnai*, (The Peoples' Herald.) It is edited by Lawrow and Tischomoriff, Its platform is the same as that of *Narodnaja Wolja*, viz: that socialism might succeed, it is necessary to break down the despotism of the Czar.

In the month of October, according to the *Independance Belge*, Miss Jentys, the directress of the Institute Maria, in Warsaw, was arrested at the general post office at the moment she was receiving some packages from Switzerland, containing letters and revolutionary literature. While the police took charge of her person, the military surrounded the Institute, entered the class rooms and dormitories, took possession of some compromising papers, and arrested eight students. At the same time, in different parts of the city, nine other students, writers for the socialistic journal, the *Proletariat*, fall into the hands of the police.

On the 28th December, the Lieutenant Colonel of police, Sudeikin, is most audaciously assassinated by some nihilists at the moment he was making enquiries in a suspected quarter. He was considered the soul of the "Holy League," and had for a long

time directed with success the pursuits of the nihilistic conspiracy.

The sensation produced by his assassination was immense. "Since the catastrophe of March, 1881," says the *Times*, "no enterprise of nihilism has been so well organized or conducted so resolutely. * * * Every one understands that in striking Sudeikin, as in the same way of Mesenzeff, the system was the object aimed at.

The court was terrified, and it had good reason to be. From what we read in a correspondence to the new *Tageblatt*, of Vienna, Sudeikin had thrice saved the life of Czar Alexander III. The first time in 1882, the Lieutenant Colonel had learned in the month of March, the names of the persons charged by the executive committee to kill the Emperor. He was in ignorance of the place where the conspirators met. When he had obtained more precise information, he was able to capture them on the night of the 5th June. He discovered also, in finding them in the house where they had been concealed, enough of dynamite bombs and other explosive materials to blow up half of St. Petersburg. The condemnation of eight conspirators, and of nine other terrorists, was pronounced on 17th April, a little before the crowning of the Emperor. Many of the conspirators were put to death. Sudeikin hastened to approach the condemned, and proposed a compromise which exhibited nihilism as a power with which the

Emperor of Russia finds himself, from time to time, obliged to treat. He promised that no execution would take place, provided the festivities of the coronation would not be disturbed. The condemned were allowed to address an appeal to the executive committee, which sanctioned the compromise; and it was accepted by both sides. The coronation and its festivities took place, and contrary to all expectations, passed over without any criminal incident; and six of those condemned to death were pardoned. Sudeikin had not only saved the life of the Emperor Alexander III, but he had saved St. Petersburg and Moscow the horrible catastrophes prepared for them.

The year 1884, commenced in St. Petersburg under the impression made by the murder of Sudeikin. It did not have many promises of calm. A nihilistic proclamation was found in the University loudly certifying that he had been put to death by the order of the executive committee.

Young socialism undertook to form an alliance. "Its organization," says the *Indépendance Belge*, "is to anticipate the wishes addressed from all parts of the Empire to the executive committee. The political police already estimate the membership of the Alliance at about five thousand, divided into forty-eight groups."

In the month of March, Warsaw was excited. Domiciliary visits of the police were made night and

day. Officers enter houses and carry on their search with extreme care.

On 23d June, the captain of police, Gidshen, is assassinated at Odessa. This murder is attributed to the nihilistic female student, Agatha Josifowna Karolewitsch, nineteen years of age, and daughter of a priest. She had been assisted by the nihilist, Timothy Fransowitsch Powalski, who entered service at the captain's, the better to prepare his murder.

In the month of June a plot against the life of the Emperor is discovered in Warsaw. It has vast ramifications. For its execution the moment of the arrival of the Emperor to take part in the military review, was selected. According to the information, which the Russian censure makes it difficult to obtain, it was the intention to blow up the imperial palace and bury in its ruins the Emperor and all his attendants. This time, though, the conspirators were not students but judges, even a procuror general was compromised. Arrests are being made of hundreds, chiefly Russians, Bulgarians or Servians. A domiciliary visit to the house of the chief conspirator the justice of peace, Bardowski, leads to the discovery of revolvers, poignards, bombs, explosive materials, a hand printing press, and numerous proclamations. It appears that the nihilists of Warsaw conceal their doings under the mask of panslavism. They were ardent agents of Russia, and had been favored by the government. Those tactics are not new. How

many wounds has society suffered in the name of a false and exaggerated nationalism.

Scarcely had the impression made by the discovery of the plot at Warsaw passed away, when the *Gazette de la Croix*, of Berlin, announced on the faith of a correspondence from Paris, that a communication from London arrived in time to prevent a conference of nihilistic anarchists, to be held in Copenhagen, at the end of July, or commencement of August. The conference was to treat of general revolutionary measures, and to deliberate on some project to be put in execution when the voyage to Copenhagen of the Emperor Alexander III. was to be undertaken.

Our readers may recollect the details, given by journalists, of the attempt made by a young girl, Mary Kaljuschnaja, at Odessa, to assassinate the chief of police, Katansky.

We thought we were correct when we said, "Nihilism is now as it ever was."¹ We were also correct when we said that religious negation was the first

1. In the ranks of nihilism all classes of society and all professions are found. A trial, which has lasted from 28th September to the 10th October, has ended in the conviction of fourteen nihilists. Here are their names:

Veva Figner, daughter of a gentleman; Apollo Nemotowsky, son of a Russian priest; Dimitry Surovtzeff, son of a priest; Spandoni Basmandshi, son of a merchant; Wladimir Tshaikoff, a gentleman; Iwanoff, son of a merchant; Ludmilla Wolkenstein, a physician's wife; Aschenbrenner, lieutenant colonel of infantry; Poschitonoff, lieutenant colonel of cavalry; Rogatscheff, lieutenant of artillery; Baron Stromberg, lieutenant of the navy, and Ensign Yuvatscheff. All these were condemned to be hanged, but the penalty was commuted by the Emperor to life imprisonment for some, and from fifteen to ten or four years hard labor for others.

step in nihilism. In the Memoirs of the anonymous writer for *Smolja i Wolja*, (Land and Liberty,) we read the following avowal: "The first battle was made on the ground of Faith, and was neither long or vigorous; we won, we may say, from the very first attack, for there is no country where religion has taken less root than among the cultivated classes of Russia. The generation which has passed away, by habit somewhat christian, and by education somewhat atheistic, *un poco atea per coltura*. And when a legion of young writers, armed with the natural sciences and philosophy, full of talent and zeal for proselytism, rushed to the attack, what remained of christianity fell like an old wall, which stands up only because nobody touched it."

These words of a nihilist contain a great lesson. May it be understood by those governments which think they are called to undertake and control the education of their people.

IX.

SWITZERLAND.—The history of anarchism in Switzerland is lost in the general history. At first, we must say, that Swiss anarchism is cosmopolitan; its groups are not national; they only welcome those

anarchists coming from other lands. Besides, out of Switzerland went the double movement.

There were two movements in Switzerland, the first received its impulse from Bakounine, and Prince Krapotkine condemned it. The second came from Germany; it was that of Most and the *Freiheit*, and there Most got his first disciples.

In 1880, the congress of Wyden expelled Most from the socialistic party. That did not disconcert the fiery sectary; he commenced so active a propagandism in Switzerland, that in two months after the congress of Wyden, he was able, in his turn to convene in October, 1880, a congress on the shores of lake Geneva. And then it was declared that the resolutions in Wyden were null and void. An anarchistic party was established, the *Freiheit* was considered as its organ, and that every effort should be made to carry on the propaganda.

Then came the congress of London in 1881. The anarchists of the Swiss cantons, where the German is spoken, accepted its platform. They formed their groups on the model of the Russian nihilists, and opened correspondence with their colleagues elsewhere. According to D. Zacher,¹ their principal aim was a propaganda by deeds in Germany. Efforts were made to obtain a special fund for the purpose of extending the circulation of the *Freiheit* and

1. Die rothe Internationale, p. 83-84.

other anarchistic publications, as well as to sustain emissaries throughout Germany.

The party kept on increasing in number. When the *Freiheit*, by reason of events we have narrated, was suppressed in England, it was secretly edited in Switzerland, up to the middle of November, 1882, when it was transferred to the United States. In 1883, the anarchistic groups were multiplied and consolidated. In a secret conference, which was held in Zurich, in August, 1883, at which delegates from Austria, Germany, Switzerland and France took part, a new kind of propaganda was approved, and the establishment of a clandestine press was voted. From this clandestine press probably came the few copies printed of the "Rebel," which, according to the confession of the murderers Stellmacher and Kammerer, inspired them.

Our readers know the rest. Kammerer's and Stellmacher's frightful propaganda by deeds, was prepared and organized in Switzerland. It was there the fanaticised assassins fled after each crime, and there they plotted the crimes which were to follow.

Up till 1883, the Swiss police took no exceptional measures for the suppression of anarchism. We read what follows, taken from the report of the Federal Department of Justice and Police.

"The political police had a good deal to do in 1882. * * * The activity shown in this branch of our department was specially elicited by the revo-

lutionary anarchistic manifestations, which were more or less publicly, made in our neighboring countries, and repeated in Switzerland by their adherents in sympathy, and in relation with them. Here, too, their doctrines are taught and preached, in a certain part of the Press and in many meetings. Although, indeed, those teachings are not always unequivocally expressed in the meetings, too frequently the audience is insensibly disposed towards their acceptance. Then it became necessary, during the year, to prevent these threatening extravagancies."

We are not aware of any "extravagancies" prevented; but this we know well, that the crimes plotted and prepared in Switzerland were not prevented. It was only when they were perpetrated and the connections of their authors with the Swiss anarchists, placed beyond a doubt that the federal authorities thought fit to act. In the month of March, 1884, the Federal Council expelled the Bavarian Kennel, the Silesian Schulze, Falk of Styria, and the Bohemian Lissa. This act did not appear to intimidate the anarchists.

The *Freiheit* indulged in extreme insolence against the Federal authorities. After the execution of Stellmacher, in Vienna, the Swiss people had opportunities of reading, on the walls of many of the cities, a manifesto, secretly posted, lauding to the skies, the assassin as a martyr, and proposing his deeds as worthy of imitation.

The Federal Council then bestirred itself and called upon the authorities in the different cantons to pay greater attention to the anarchistic movements. Many arrests were made, as in Zurich and Basle. Among the anarchists was found the wife of Stellmacher and a socialist, expelled from Berlin, of the name of Weiss, who seemed to be in correspondence with the Russian police.

Our readers know already from what we have said of anarchism in France, the condition of anarchism in the cantons of Switzerland, where French is spoken. While the movement which we have called German, has for its aim a social revolution in Germany or Austria, the French movement looks towards France, Italy, and the South of Europe. The exploits of Montceau-les-Mines, and Lyons must be put to the credit of the latter which became very important in 1882, and 1883, under the direction of Prince Krapotkine and Elisee Reclus. At its congress of 1882, at Lausanne, more than thirty delegates were assembled, and many thousands of disciples counted. This congress was succeeded by an international conference in Geneva, on 13th and 14th of August, 1882, on the occasion of a great musical festival. There were not less than fifty members; Russians, French, Germans, and Italians. The reports of the favorable condition of the groups of Lyons, Montceau-les-Mines, Marseilles, Cette, Grenoble, and Paris, were read. The conference

adjourned with these cries: "Down with God! Down with nationality, (*La patrie.*) Down with governments! Down with the employers!" In an address to the workingmen of Europe, the members of the congress declare that they sympathize with all those, who, by any revolutionary deed, can set law at naught.

The congress met again in 1883, at Chaux-de-Fond, on 7th July, and declared the necessity of propaganda by deeds, and gave as an example to imitate, the young workman of Roanne, who, on the occasion of a great strike, gave emphasis to his claim by the use of a revolver.

Since the great trial in Lyons, the anarchistic movement, with its centre at Geneva, has sought the shade. Its organ, though, the "Rebel," has not abandoned its doctrines. In the month of April, 1884, appeared at Geneva, another anarchistic sheet "*L'Explosion*," which has succeeded in surpassing the "Rebel" in violence.

X.

UNITED STATES.—The anarchist Most¹ is now in America, his *Freiheit* is published in New York. So then, Anarchism has got a footing there. Like every where else, socialism had, at an early date,

1. Where he is likely to remain until his sentence to Blackwell's Island is worked out.

some radical disciples who, little by little, separate from their more moderate colleagues, to form a nucleus of their own. The nihilist, Hartman, was received triumphantly in many of the cities. A numerous assembly, in New York, frantically applauded the socialist, Hasselman, when he congratulated the Russian nihilists on the murder of Alexander III. The radical wing is chiefly considerable in Chicago. At a congress in that city, on the 21st and 22d October, 1881, entire sympathy was declared toward the nihilists, and a recommendation was put forth for the organizing of armed trade associations, such as already existed there. It is true, that the congress advised participation in the elections; but already in 1882, in the November elections of that year, the inutility of taking part in them was proclaimed. The way was made smooth for Most, after leaving prison, to ask in America, the unlimited liberty which England had refused him. On 18th December, 1882, he was received with enthusiasm by those who were already his disciples. He had, as his mission, to organize anarchistic groups in the name of the Congress of London; and went from city to city, recommending the propaganda of deeds and the circulation of the *Freiheit*, which, henceforth was to be issued in New York. In less than a year he had adherents, chiefly among the German immigrants. The anarchistic party was formed; its congress met at Pittsburg, in the month

of October, 1883, where anarchism was formally established, according to the manner of organization recommended by the congress of London. It is composed of automatic groups; nine committees in charge of agitation, and propaganda are named for as many large districts; another committee, with the business of correspondence between the home and the foreign groups, became the "American League of the International Association of Workingmen." Here is the summing up of the manifesto, issued by the congress of Pittsburg, to the workingmen of America:

"The day is come, when it is right to say: 'Each for all and all for each.' Let the war cry be heard; Workingmen of all countries, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your claims, and you have every thing to gain. Tremble, ye tyrants of the world! Yet a little while, and your short sighted eyes will be able to see the lurid dawn of the day of justice."

It is not difficult to recognize in this, the hand of the editor of the *Freiheit*. This periodical is quite at home where it is permitted to say and write everything, and it seems to have no limits to its violence. Judge from the following lines, written concerning the crimes of Stuttgart and Vienna committees, for the purpose of procuring money for the party: "What is wanted, above all, by the revolution," says the *Freiheit*, "is money. * * * We must not then march too delicately over the skulls

of those vampires.” And then he passes off to celebrate the crimes of Stuttgart and Vienna, as “deeds worthy of certain heroic characters, only to be witnessed in extraordinary times, and which are able to excite enthusiasm in the breasts of thousands of men.” And he adds: “To work, then! Strike as at Stuttgart! * * * Indeed it is no importance to disturb a religious ceremony. Religion and everything belonging to it must be extirpated. Let the the priests look out for themselves on the day when the red flag will float over their shops. They will be cut in pieces, and the pieces thrown to the dogs.”¹

The United States not only tolerates that fanatical anarchists, howl like this, but it allows the fabrication of the arms and destructive engines which they use. The *Gazette de la Croix*, of Berlin, in the month of June, 1884, gives the following information from the *Iron Age*, an American paper: “They were making, at New York and Philadelphia, under the very eyes of the authorities, all kinds of infernal machines. Daily go out from the ports of those cities, dozens of deadly instruments, of the size and nature of those which were some time ago to have exploded in Westminster Palace. Occasionally some of those weapons are discovered at the moment they are placed on board the ship, but the majority pass unobserved.”

1. Zacher, *die rothe Internationale*, p. 158.

And then follows a description of the different kind of bombs, one more deadly, it would seem, than the others. The *Iron Age* continues:

“A manufacturer was recently asked: What effect would a more prohibitory law have on this state of things? ‘None,’ said he, ‘my machines become infernal ones only when they are loaded. Indeed, anything can be converted into an infernal machine; an orange, a gown, a hat, a shovel, or a pound of sugar will do.’ The orders for infernal machines are getting daily greater. All the revolutionary societies, not only of Europe, but of Mexico, and South America, have their agents here. Many watches are sent to St. Domingo and Haiti, which are only to be wound up from every eight to thirty days.”¹

That page from the *Iron Age* is not less characteristic than the one we took from the *Freiheit*. The editor who excites to murder, the merchant who, for sordid gain, furnishes infernal machines, which he knows are to be used for crime, and the anarchist who uses them, are all three worthy of each other. We pity the country and the age which produces them.

1. Quoted in the *Germania*, 20 June, 1884.

THIRD PART.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Our observations will be short. The anarchists have reached the point, where they believe no confidence can be placed in any means, save their terrible theory of propaganda by deeds. From quite another point of view, we see ourselves reduced to believe in the eloquence of deeds. Social and economical notions are so upset, opinions are so various and contradictory, profound and voluntary blindness are so common, that above all, facts are to be considered. Well, we have presented the facts, we have gleaned in the two hemispheres. Let them speak. Are they not evident, numerous and threatening?

If we add some observations, it is only to mark out more clearly the situations, to indicate the nature of the social plague, and to express our view of the remedy to be used.

I.

THE SITUATION.—We have exposed the facts with impartiality; in the many documents we have consulted, we only sought the truth. We have brought no charges against modern society, or against its implacable enemies. Our purpose has been to examine how deep the social wound went; and now our examination being ended we have reason to think the wound is deep.

The votes given to socialistic candidates, and the rolls of the members of their associations, will help us in calculating the general strength of collective socialism. We are far from saying that every one who votes now and then for a socialist is himself one; but all reservations made, and counting in the families of those imbued with those dangerous doctrines, we cannot but believe that their disciples reach up into the millions. But supposing they numbered only one hundred thousand—and those figures are too low—is not that somewhat alarming? One hundred thousand men denying God and a future life, and the very essential basis of society! One hundred thousand men who consider everyone, with no matter what title, possessing some social consideration, as robbers and swindlers! One hundred thousand men, armed with all possible objections against an economical system, not too well protected against their catechisms; armed, too, with

what we call cautiousness, armed, too, with alas! a hatred of which we have seen terrible results. One hundred thousand men, with a mission to save the workingmen, and addressing themselves to all the dissatisfied, by means of a press, whose secrecy adds to its seduction, and using the incessant relations of daily life, and in the painful hours of daily labor! Let us not be deceived. Here is before us an immense power for destruction. If three hundred thousand socialists were spread all over the world, and had nothing but their peculiar ideas, they would soon disappear in the great human family; but they are associated and organized. The gap in the ranks made by the loss of one, is soon filled up by the arrival of another.

What will social collectivism be, when to the vitality it possesses by association, it will have added that of the family tie? When families will be wrapped up in the socialistic idea, and will live only for it, and will separate from other families on account of it, and will see that it is transmitted by education — what then?

We have seen anarchism appearing everywhere at the side of collectivism. They are evidently of the same family; the younger brother is a little more violent and turbulent than the elder. It is not easy to ascertain the number of the partisans of anarchism, as they take no part in elections, and organization of their groups is kept secret. We can only

guess it by the number of delegates attending their congresses, and by the statistics brought forth in them.

The anarchists are certainly less numerous than the collectivists, but the numbers are not of so much importance for their system. It is said, with truth, that two thousand anarchists, fully determined on their plan, would make Paris tremble. The nihilists are not numerous, but to what condition of terror have they brought the immense Russian Empire? We have seen three anarchists, Stellmacher, and Kammerer, and an unknown accomplice, fill Austria with anxiety for many months. We should not forget either, their formidable ally, dynamite, which the socialistic press welcomes with such unanimous enthusiasm.

II.

NATURE OF THE SOCIAL PLAGUE.—It is of the greatest importance not to mistake the nature of the social plague. Whence does it come? Is socialism the work of some few agitators? No! If it were, it would pass away with them. Is it the exclusive result of a commercial crisis? No; for then it would be affected by the vicissitudes of the crisis. The plague of socialism is still deeper like all the great plagues that threaten society.

It does not confine itself to diminishing the consequences of a commercial crisis, or to correcting social inequality. It extends itself to all social life. It differs from us in our idea of what man is. It has not either, the same idea with us of what life is. Actual society is based upon the decalogue, and socialism has destroyed what it could of that. For such a system to be conceived, its author must have renounced belief in God, in the future life, and in the commandments; and for it to be accepted by the people, it was necessary that irreligion should have made great progress.

Logically and chronologically the first dogma of socialism is the denial of God.

Its second, the denial of a future life.

Its third is the supreme law of enjoyment. Future life being denied, all is left is the present, and its purpose can only be enjoyment.

The fourth is the greatest possible equalization of enjoyment. Enjoyment being the supreme law, and as in this life, there is great inequality in the attainment of it, a new system should be created to bring about a level.

In other terms socialism is born of materialism in doctrine and materialism in life.

Karl Marx was a conformed atheist, and so are all the contemporaneous leaders.

“We have adopted,” said Bebel, in open Parliament, 1878, “the doctrine of atheism, which came

to us from abroad; we consider ourselves obliged to spread and propagate it through the masses. * * * Modern science helps us; we accept its teachings with all their consequences; we are endeavoring to popularize them, and to bring them into the life of the nation, and into state organization."

On 17th July, 1884, the organ of German socialism, the *Sozial Demokrat*, cynically remarks: "In vain, you gentlemen idealists, in vain you repeat your learned dissertation, socialism will always remain what it was, *atheistic* and *materialistic*."

We have already spoken of the confession of Stelmacher before his judges, the first words of which he declared: "I do not believe in God." We shuddered when reading that declaration.

Why accumulate citations? We need only cast back a glance on what we have written. Nowhere has socialism been confined to economical questions. Two of the first conditions for its platform is an appeal to anti-religious prejudices; blasphemy and a strong hatred of the church, supply most material for the eloquence of its disciples.

It must be admitted that the first cause of socialism is a religious and a moral one. We do not, of course, deny the existence of an economical cause; it exists, and is powerful, but it acts only occasionally. Were it not for the moral and religious cause the economical would never have produced this vast insurrection against social order.

By a single word we can characterize the occasional or economical cause of socialism the degradation (*proletarianisation*) of the masses, produced by the economical system, known by the name of *capitalism*. The number of *proletaires*, that is of those who own nothing, has immensely increased, and is increasing daily. The greater part of them have lost Faith, and the gospel of enjoyment is now preached to them. Socialism has but to say, to these Godless people, thirsting for enjoyment: "You have been disinherited, swindled, you have got no proper place at the banquet of life; come to me; together we will march to acquire our right, we will commence a war until death, against these swindlers." What is able to restrain them so invited? What will prevent them from casting their fate in with socialism?

An illustrious writer, speaking of a laboring man, degraded and Godless, says:

"He proposes terrible questions to himself. He asks, 'has not God made men equal, and why, then, are some rich and some poor?' He is said to be sovereign, and he points out his masters. It is said his condition is improving, and he answers, 'I am hungry.' Books are thrown to him, full of fine reasonings and neat calculations on the necessity of inequality in human conditions, and he does not read them."

"He prefers to listen to the foolish doctrines which agitate the darkest recesses of his being. In

place of God's gospel, which consoled him, he accepts another which renders him mad. He threatens to break into the actual material order and rob it."¹

Bebel made in the *Reichstag*, in reference to this degradation of the workingmen, (*proletarianisation*), a declaration which we have already quoted, and will again call to the attention of our readers.

"Modern production, production through capital, offers to the socialistic idea the most favorable soil. This production, through capital, degrades the masses. No period in history presents such degradation of the masses like the last twenty years. In the measure that capital advances, so will this degradation develop, and the socialistic idea will gain in influence and spread."

And this *proletarianisation* is still going on continuously and with accelerating pace. In some countries, efforts are being made to save what yet remains of the middle class of Tradesmen; will that be successful? What is still graver, this degradation threatens the agricultural districts; and in the pay of capitalists how many peasants are today tilling the fields that belonged to their fathers?!

1. Louis Veccillot. Preface to *Libres Penseurs*.

III.

THE CURE.—Where is the cure? Prince Bismarck, the most powerful man in the political world, has been looking for it; and the elections which have taken place in Germany, prove in the most unexpected manner that he has not found it. To attain his purpose, he employed negative means consisting of repression, and positive, which he thought he had found in what he called *Social Reform*. Indeed, the energy of his repressive acts left little to be desired; the state of seige, the expulsion of the chief agitators, the suppression of the socialistic press and association have gone on for six years. The *Social Reform*, too, had been pushed on with no less vigor; and has produced in a relatively short time two great Laws. What has been the result of those efforts? Socialism has had such an unexpected success, that Germany is thrilled with an astonishment almost equal to consternation.

When the first pages of this work were sent to press, the elections for the German Parliament were about taking place. We then said that no party was better prepared for them than the socialists, but the results which reach us now, did not appear to us possible. At the very first scrutiny, nine socialistic candidates were found certainly, and twenty-five more, possibly elected. Of nearly two hundred thousand votes cast in the city of Berlin, seventy-

eight thousand were given to the socialistic candidates. Of the three electoral districts of Hamburg, two were carried by socialists. Socialistic candidates were elected in all the principal cities of the Empire; in Berlin, Hamburg, Breslau, Frankfort, Magdeburg, Elberfeld, Hanover, Leipsic, Chemnitz, Brunswick, Munich, Nuremberg, etc. Twenty-four seats in the German Parliament belonged to the socialists, and their whole vote in the Empire, reached to more than half a million.¹

In the month of October, 1878, when the mighty Chancellor of the German Empire delivered his *Quosego* to the socialists, who would have predicted a similar electoral triumph after six years of implacable repression? The leaders of socialism them-

1. Socialism scored also successes in Alsace. In the industrial city of Sainte-Marie aux Mines, Bebel received 172 votes. In the district of Mulhouse, the socialistic candidate, the innkeeper, Schmidt, had 2939 votes, against 8619 for Mr. Dollfus, the head of the manufacturing interests of the city. Of these 2939 votes only 1397 can be credited to the city, 1514 were from the country. It cannot be denied that most of the voters for the socialistic candidate were not of his party, but we do not conceal that a very grave symptom was observed in this election. How were 2939 votes obtained for the socialist? no canvass was made for him, and four days before the election no one heard of him, and he was unknown in the district. To get these 2939 votes, all that was necessary was to despatch an order to the different societies having some socialistic members, and to scatter secretly in the streets of Mulhouse, and in the other localities of the district, an address from the press of the Social Demokrat, of Zurich. The address was of this nature to the workingmen; "Capital has enchained you. Do not vote for the representative of capital." And to the peasants: "You are the victims of usury, that is to say, capital. * * * You bear the same yoke as the workingmen." The address took care to conceal its socialistic origin and aim, and demanded a decrease in taxes, an end of armies, the abolition of class laws, and serious measures of local reform. The address of Mr. Dollfus used the word protest. The socialist replied, "We too, protest in turn, but it will be against the social system, which submits without merey the workingman to capital."

selves, whatever then may have been their confidence in the future, did not anticipate what happened; and had sincerity enough to admit it.

No. Prince Bismarck has not overcome socialism and has not found its cure. Must it be admitted that nothing will; that from this electoral triumph it proceed to others; and like a torrent, which has broken through its first dam, will carry away all the other obstacles to it. It does not follow from the want of success attending Prince Bismarck's plan that socialism is invincible; we only infer that he has not used the proper methods, and that the State alone is not competent to remedy the social disease which is attacking it.

We believe that nations may be cured; and since socialism can be cured, we believe it will. But we do not think that the cure will be brought about so soon, or that the efforts of one nation will be successful against an evil that is international.

To efficaciously combat socialism, it will require all the living forces of society.

The two great powers thereof, are the Church and the State. Let the State look to the commercial ground: that is its sphere. We have already said the proletarianization of the masses, by modern production, has favored socialism. Let the State, by its laws, as much as possible, look to obstruct this formidable process. Let it protect the workingman, create for him a less precarious condition of subsis-

tence. Doing this, the State should not overstep its domain, and combat the socialism of the street by the socialism of the Crown. The State should not play at Providence. Nothing is more fatal than habituating men to expect everything from the State, and nothing familiarizes them more with socialism, which is an immense exaggeration of the idea of the State.

Napoleon I, was right when he said, "It is a great fault in a government to wish to be too paternal; by too great a solicitude it destroys liberty and prosperity."

The part of the State in the struggle against socialism is considerable; that of the Church is still greater. We have shown that above all, the socialistic evil is a moral and religious one; the history of socialism, of anarchism, and of nihilism, give sufficient evidence to that statement. And the church is the first moral and religious force to be brought to bear against this moral and religious evil. Modern governments have overlooked this elementary truth. They trammelled the Church at the moment when society had the most need of her free action.

When the State has done all that it can to protect the weak against the strong, there will still be left in society, an immense domain which is not under the rule of law, but which is governed by charity. To level, in some manner, social inequalities, and to suppress hatred between the classes, the author of

society created charity. And the the greatest promoter of charity is the Church.

No doubt the Church cannot save society against its own will, for that the cooperation of the other social forces is needed. In her ceaseless struggle against the materialism of life, which has invaded all social grades, and which is the most powerful ally of socialism, she needs the cooperation of the schools, of the press, of art, of literature, morals and public usages.

But if this cooperation is indispensable for success against socialism, what are we to think of the chances? Is the Church sufficiently armed for the struggle? What do we see nearly everywhere? The State is either persecuting or holding in suspicion, the Church. The State is hostile in France. In Germany, the *Kulturkampf* is not yet ended.¹ In Italy, the seizure of the property of the Propaganda gives socialism a new argument. In Brussels, the socialists and liberals have united; elsewhere the christian family is disorganized by law. Switzerland has exiled a bishop, before Krapotkine was expelled, and the greatest solicitude at Basle now is, to close up the Catholic schools.

Has not the public school, from the primary to the university, fallen under the materialistic tendency which the socialists claim to be the cause of their faith, and growth? Have not the modern philosophical systems of Germany, of sensuality and positivism

1. Since this was written, it can be said that it is ended. Trans.

in France, and particularly of Darwinism, which from England passed over so rapidly to the charge of the universities of the continent, implanted nihilism and materialism in philosophy, long before they had found entrance into the social systems? The philosophers have been the teachers, but the socialists in the German Parliament, have been able to say, "we are your pupils." The young men leaving the Universities, or other establishments of education, thirst for pleasure. What resistance will they make to the socialistic Gospel of enjoyment?

Prince Bismarck has attributed to the *proletariat* of Bachelors, the existence of Russian nihilism. This other kind of *proletariat* is seen everywhere, and has less energy, and frequently less morality than the *proletariat* of the workingmen.

Let us borrow from a French Senator, whose testimony will not be suspected of any clerical bias, some considerations on a certain class of literature and art. "I cannot but give expression to a sadness which I am sure has affected every member of the senate. In these days great liberties have been taken with public morality; quite a literature, which no one here will defend, has invaded and overrun our country. I do not know for whom people now write; these works—the looseness, of which wounds me, afford a condemnation of the readers, as well as of the writers. The corrupt works of the end of the eighteenth century are innocent and simple to day by

the side of those circulating everywhere. And what engravings do we see at the head of books, given to public display ! And the advertisements ! And the placards. All this is fearful. I am not disposed to restrain in any way, the freedom of talent, or of wit, even it be gallic, but it is the licentiousness which alarms me; it penetrates, impregnates, poisons, circulates in, like a shameful disease, the blood so pure and generous of our race. It is under those impressions that I dread, everything that has the appearance of any attack on the great principles of social morality.”¹

The energetic words of the Senator, may be applied to other countries as well as to France.

Art is on a level with Literature.

We have seen in some great cities, as much money expended for the reception of an actress, as is contributed for the succour of provinces entirely ravaged by a flood.

In his turn, let an Italian Senator say what he thinks of the moral situation in Europe.

“Public morality has enormously fallen, and is falling daily. The dominant religion of nearly all people, is the adoration of the golden calf; the fever for sudden gains, and colossal fortunes is epidemic.

To satisfy the cupidity, nothing is left untried.”²

This is the condition of things the people see. Such sights are certainly not likely to protect the

1. Allou. Debates on the Laws of Divorce.

2. Senator Musolino. *Civitta Cattolica*.

masses against the invasion of socialism. Let us hear a son, a man of wonderful eloquence, speak of the effect produced on the mind of his father by these influences, and the feeling which the fate excited in his own filial heart.

“My father died when he was fifty years old. He was merely a workingman, without education or pride. Thousands of misfortunes had darkened the laborious days of his life. Ignorant but unfaltering, the only consolation he found was in his virtue. Nobody, for fifty years, had taken any interest in his soul, except when at the last, full of anguish, it went to its repose in God. Masters he always had to sell to him water, salt, the air, to take the tithe of his sweat; to ask from him the blood of his sons; a protector or a guide he never had.”

“In fact, what had society said to him? How had they translated to him his rights, so pompously enrolled on their charts? ‘Toil, be submissive, and honest. If you disobey, we will kill you; if you steal, we will imprison you. But if you suffer, we can not help it; and if you have no bread, go to the hospital or die, that is none of our business.’”

“That, and nothing more, had society said to him, and whatever promises it may inscribe on its constitutions, it can say and do no more. It has no bread for the board, except at the office for mendicants; at no place does it distribute consolations and respect. My father had toiled, suffered and was dead. On the

edge of his grave, I thought over the long tortures of his life; they presented themselves to me; I saw them all, and I counted those consolations which he might have had, too, notwithstanding his servile condition in this heart made for God. Pure and deep consolations. The crime of society, which nothing can absolve, had deprived him of them. The light from this sad truth, caused me to curse, not toil, not poverty, not misery, but the great social iniquity, the impiety, by which is snatched from the disinherited of this world, the compensation which God attaches to the inequality of their lot. I allowed my anathema to break faith in the vehemence of my grief."

"Yes! there, I commenced to know, and to judge that civilization of pretending sages. Denying God; they have denied the poor, and they have fatally abandoned his soul. I said to myself, the social edifice is iniquitous, it will crumble, it will be destroyed."

"I was already a Christian; if I had not been, from that moment I would have belonged to secret societies. I would have said, like many others: How is it, that there are people well clad, well housed, and well fed, while we are covered with rags, crowded into garrets, and obliged to labor in the sun and rain, to gain what is scarcely enough to keep life in us? And this fearful question made my head turn, *for if God does not answer it, there can be no answer.*"¹

From this fiery charge against contemporaneous

1. Louis Veuillet. Les Libres Penseurs.

society, we re-echo the last words: "If God has no answer to the social question: There is no answer." Everything is there.

Socialism, in its last analysis, rests on atheism, and God's place must again be accorded Him in the minds of men, and in literature, art and morals.

A powerful *Sursum corda* may lift men from above the attraction of matter.

In other words, the day of triumph will be near, when men sincerely think they must return to Christ Jesus. *In hoc signo vinces.*

APPENDIX.

For some years past, Chicago took rank as one of the cities of the world, in which Socialism best flourished. Its prosperity, and its readiness to employ and amply remunerate labor, did not appear to satisfy all of the laboring classes. Meetings were frequently and openly held, in which the "non producing classes," "the capitalist," "the drones of society," were denounced, and the rights and dignity of the laborer exalted. The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the socialistic organ, had a list of zealous and numerous subscribers. Even, although as a rule, few socialists became citizens of the United States, a candidate for mayor of the city was proposed by them at one election; but he did not receive a majority of votes. Processions of socialists, carrying black or red flags, with inscriptions denunciatory of capitalists, of law, of men in authority, went often through the streets. On one occasion even, at the opening of the New Board of

Trade, a special manifestation was made for the benefit of the merchants there assembled. Red and black flags were carried to the doors of the building. The procession was headed by women, All kinds of threats, against the merchants, capitalists, even against the building, were shrieked in the streets; a commotion was created, a carriage was stopped and overturned; the occupant thrown out and received injuries from which he died; and the procession, in glee, flaunting banners, bearing such quaint devices as "Down with Law" went through the principal avenues of the city. Permission was given by the mayor, to the socialists, to occupy on Sunday, a portion of what is called the Lake front, that is a piece of ground owned by the city, and used as a kind of park. And on Sunday, regular service was held, chiefly consisting of speeches in various languages, telling of the wrongs undergone by the working men; of the wealth, and the crimes of the "unproductive" classes, and of the apathy and inability of the rulers, to equalize and rectify things. In fine, Chicago was a Paradise for socialists.

Nightly meetings in all parts of the city were called, to hear the chief orators of the movement. Occasionally some leader from abroad, came to add intensity to the feeling of hatred, against the monopolists and capitalists. Old grudges which had festered for centuries in Europe between the classes, were brought to an immense city of only fifty years

of age, to generate a social plague. It is true, that with rare exceptions, the socialists were Germans, French, Norwegians, Polacks and Bohemians,—men not to the American manor born. Very few English speaking persons were found in their groups. Naturalization, was not sought by them.

Chicago, too, took rank, as a city where strikes were frequent, bitter, and of considerable duration.

During one strike it was found necessary to call on the United States troops, but a conflict was avoided.

It was popularly, and I think correctly thought that the socialists, according to their usual and authorized tactics, had succeeded in getting their associates into the workingmens' organizations, and obtained somewhat of a mastery, and authority there, and were pushing matters to extremes. The increase of wages, the diminution of the hours of labor, were affairs of importance for the laboring men, and it was permissible in them to make efforts to obtain them, but it was observed that the strike openly and regularly commenced with these demands; and then other and more bitter topics were placed before the consideration of the strikers. Then came the public obstruction to those branches of industry from which the strikers had withdrawn. The police occasionally interfered to protect laborers, whom the strikers denounced as "scabs," and rats. And then the newspapers were filled with protests against the excessive

zeal of the law's upholders, and so it went on. It was known that the socialists were at work.

Regiments of socialists were allowed to drill, and bear arms, and go in procession armed, through the streets, and on Sundays, with martial music, disturb people (who expected those days would be days of peace,) by the noisy advance to the summer gardens, where beer was consumed, and socialist speeches made, and socialistic songs sung.

Socialistic Paradise indeed ! There was even for them no forbidden fruit, but there may have been some devils. Socialism naturally gravitates towards anarchism, and it was observed that a continual advance along the line was made, and that the mild, probably just, demands of the laboring men were turned into the wild, unreasonable atheistic shrieks of hatred, against society, and all that depends upon it, and all that sustains it. *Nieder alle Gesezen.*

I more than once received from Europe, enquiries as to what would be the end of all this. Would not the doctrines of the "Arbieter Zeitung" bear some fruit? Would not the stimulated claims of the laboringmen have some results? Was Liberty License? And so forth.

A friend in Germany, who takes great interest in secret societies, thought that we had a right to consider also, the interests of Europeans, in granting such extreme freedom to those revolutionists. They could take care, thought he, of the socialists in Ger-

many and France, if their colleagues in America did not give them such encouragement and sympathy. We were, thought he, sheltering the viper.

I used to reply to such correspondents, by saying, you do not know the American people; we believe that Liberty is a general panacea for all social sickness, the vaporings, (*Grossmaulshaft*) of those men should be rated at nothing; some few years in America will show them how unreasonable they are. The possession of a house and lot, will cure them of collectivism. Naturally they will soon, they or their children, stand up for the laws, which guarantee them rights and liberties they have not had abroad. This is all a movement of aliens, who are not yet able to know what our government is; they are filled with a hatred of despotic power, which they have known, and they transfer it to those here they do yet not know. Let Europe look out for itself; let it take some chains off the people.

But I used to add, wait! If against my predictions, the socialists in America should make an attack upon order and law, you will see such a suppression as will astonish your greatest despot, your most exacting legist. Not only the police, the army, the government,—National or State—will show their strength, but the American people, will attend to the viper.

I will give a turn to the lesson of the old fable, and change the viper into an American rattlesnake. Let

him rattle all he likes, but if he stings, he dies.

Moreover, I used to say, revolutionists are always putting forth exaggerated claims. In Europe, the people really have some rights the upper classes have not recognized. To reverse the proverb, they ask for an ell to get an inch; see to it that they get an inch. Here, a laboring man may become a capitalist. Most of the capitalists, in fact nearly all, were laboring men; why should they break the ladder on which they are to mount?

My German friend, with a passion for the study of secret societies, used to answer, "All that is very well, you do not know the force of a secret tie, and of a social aim; I too, say, wait."

Since the Hay Market affair in Chicago, many of the political newspapers, and indeed many of our citizens, have sought to fix the blame upon the city authorities, for the freedom allowed to these socialists here. I am persuaded that, they would have been among the first to protest then against any curtailment of that freedom. The highest feeling concerning socialism in America, was that of astonishment, that it should exist here. Indeed, it was judged to be a foreign product, an exotic, doomed to die, and not worthy of being disturbed or touched.

It was considered desirable, to attach to this work, a short summary of the late outbreak of socialism in Chicago.

Before the first of May, in this year, a strike was determined on by many of the workingmen's associations of this city, and when the day arrived, they abandoned many of the factories, declaring that they would not return to their occupations until the time for their labor was reduced to eight hours a day, and without any diminution in the rates of the wages they were then receiving. The employers, in most cases, were unwilling to comply with those claims, and the men withdrew, while those in the employments complying, continued at work. At the large Reaper factory of McCormick's, in the south-west part of the city, the proprietors not wishing to accept the terms, most of the men struck, and departed peaceably.

At first, no commotion was visible there, but in a short time the workmen returned to the neighborhood, and molested those who still remained at work in the factory. Some of the fences were torn down; gradually, greater boldness was exhibited, the police were interfered with and beaten, the houses of persons suspected by the strikers, of givers of information, were broken into and damaged, some arrests were made, and finally a riotous condition prevailed. It was already supposed that the socialists and anarchists, according to their usual tactics, were at work,

urging on the workingmen to deeds of violence.

But the evening of the 4th of May, was set for a number of meetings, of all those who sympathized with the people, and who were to be called upon to show indignation against the police, for the manner the people were treated by them at the Reaper factory.

It is not likely that the authorities had then, any such information of a conspiracy as was afterwards produced at the trial, but there were such feeling and ferment in the minds of the workingmen, that it was not considered prudent to allow them to be unduly stirred by revolutionary appeals; and it was decided that the meeting should be dispersed.

The situation of the meeting place showed design; it was on a street, off from a large square. From a wagon, on the west side of the street, the speeches were made; near the wagon was an alley, running west, which afforded an excellent line of retreat, and shelter to prepare an attack. The crowd had diminished at the moment when the police arrived. The force of police selected to disperse the meeting, numbered nearly one hundred and eighty men.

The editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, August Spies, had spoken to the meeting, and it was thought that his denunciations of the police were unusually and purposely mild. The speaker, at the moment of the arrival of the police, was Samuel Fielden. And in reply to the order of dispersing, he said, "This is

a peaceable meeting." Almost simultaneously, a lighted bomb was thrown from the alley, among the police, and after its explosion, sixty members of the force were put *hors de combat*. One was dead, and some others dying,—seven in all died from the effects of their wounds—and over fifty were seriously injured. Bravely the police obeyed the order to close up, and revolvers were fired on both sides, and the socialists and those not socialists, who still attended the meeting took to flight, and victory was on the side of order. Only one citizen was killed outright, but quite a number, including Fielden, were wounded.

The first shot fired at Sumpter, in the opinion of many, was not more significant, than the throwing of this bomb. It inaugurated a new war, one against order and society. It was the first time, that order in the United States had been openly attacked; and the unconcern with which socialistic meetings, processions, periodicals, and speeches were hitherto regarded, gave way before the manifestation of a design, by force of arms, to overturn the government of the country. and to disposess owners of what ever they had acquired.

It is not easy, to learn what hopes the socialists had of obtaining success. It had been said that some plans were laid to obtain control of the police stations, and the arms there stored, to burn, like under the Commune in Paris, many of the principal

buildings, and to bring out a general chaos or anarchy, in which the interest of the conspirators might be subserved. Such dreams may have been entertained, but they serve only to estimate the extent of the fanaticism which created them.

It is not easy, either, to understand how they could have expected, with their limited numbers, to overpower so large a city, with an excellent and trained body of police, with some regiments of militia, and the resources of the United States within call.

Doubtless, their chief hope lay in the expected defection of the working men of all the trades, who, now excited by anarchistic speeches, might be supposed ready to appeal to arms, and to be led in the direction the socialists would mark out.

The morning after the riot and massacre, May 5th, the arrests took place of August Spies, the editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and his brother, Christian, Michel Schwab, the co-editor of the same periodical, Samuel Fielden, the orator at the meeting, Schnaubelt, who, it was afterwards sworn at the trial, was the thrower of the bomb, Lingg, the supposed maker of such weapons, and a number of other well known socialists, of whom four were retained.

Parsons, the only American whose arrest was desirable, escaped, and remained concealed, until he saw fit, on the first morning of the trial, to present himself, and join his associates in the court room.

Search was made in different places, for the weapons with which the war was to be carried on, and bombs loaded with dynamite were discovered in considerable numbers in the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. In the other resorts, arms, proclamations, and miscellaneous socialistic literature were obtained. Black and red flags for use in processions were taken, and afterwards used at the trial. Schnaubelt, the bomb thrower was liberated, and when the information compromising him had been obtained, was not to be found, and was not put on trial.

On the day of the arrests, Madden, a policeman, was shot by a notorious socialist, Krueger, but the officer though was able to return the shot, and both wounded, were taken to the Hospital, where the socialist died. The officer though shot through the lung, has survived.

In the address to the Grand Jury, made by Judge Rogers, the law touching the freedom of speech was laid down. He defined the limits of its use and abuse, and called upon the Jury to take some steps for the suppression of such license as led up to the massacre of the 4th May; and on the 25th of this month, the Grand Jury indicted August Spies, Schwab, Schnaubelt, Fischer, Fielden, Lingg, Engel, Neebe, and Parsons, charged with conspiracy to commit murder.

And here we may remark, what little trust can be placed in the secret oaths upon which so many

conspirators place confidence; for as soon as the officers commenced to look up evidence for the coming trial, they found abundance of it, given by sworn associates. The punishments threatened by the law, had more overawing influences than those of the societies, and quite a chain of evidence was gradually forged. In some cases, when on the witness-stand, the dread of the societies took away something from the force of the disclosures made to the police, but enough remained.

The trial commenced on the 21st of June, before Judge Gary, in the Criminal Court. Parsons surrendered himself and took his place with the other seven, with mutual congratulations.

What struck most persons present, for the first days of the trial, was the unconcern with which all the prisoners regarded the proceedings. They appeared as if the whole affair was no business of theirs, and occupied themselves with the morning's papers, or smelt the nosegays with which their friends had liberally provided them. Occasionally the editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, would pencil, a note, and his associates would address each other, but an expression of languor was over all their countenances. This might be particularly remarked, during the long examination of the panels, from which were selected the persons forming the jury; later on, when the evidence took a serious, and damaging, turn, a change in the manner of the prisoners became

marked. They were defended by four very competent lawyers, and the interests of order were watched over by three equally competent members of the legal profession.

In the selection of a Jury, each of the eight prisoners was entitled to twenty peremptory challenges, and as their trials were not separate, their counsel had the privilege of rejecting one hundred and sixty persons of the different panels presented. It was moved to restrain the prosecution to the right of only twenty, it being considered as one body, but the Court overruled such interpretation of the law, and both sides received the same privilege. To agree upon a jury, occupied over three weeks of the court's time, and the prosecution actively commenced its work on the 16th July, 1886.

When the evidence of a conspiracy against law and order was expanded, the prosecuting attorney claimed to be able to show that the throwing of the bomb, and the ensuing massacre, were only incidents in a general warfare to be waged, the police stations were to be seized, and fire and murder used, to subject the city and its inhabitants to the control of those believing in the new Revolution.

A very important decision of the Judge, had at this juncture, a very unfavorable influence on the hopes and countenances of the defense and the accused. He decided, that to show guilt against a conspirator, a general instigation against the police,

looking to their destruction, on the part of any one sufficed; and, that connection with the special act, time and place of the attack, need not be proved. This facilitated the march of the prosecution, and modified the defense.

The police were able to prove, that on the 4th day of May, a circular had been issued, calling on the workingmen of the city, "to come in force and armed." This notice led them to desire that no inflammatory speeches should be made at the meetings to be held; and brought about the determination to disperse any meeting of a dangerous kind. At about half-past ten in the evening, a large body of police went to the Hay Market, to disperse the meeting there held. When summoned to disperse, Fielden, who was then speaking, said, "*We are peaceable.*" and the bomb was thrown, with the results already noticed. It was thought that there was some real connection between the words, *peaceable* and *ruhe*, (peace), the rallying cry of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and that it was the signal for those in the alley to cast the bomb.

The *Lehr and Wehr Verein*, was a military company, organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, with authority to arm, and to drill. By the testimony offered, it became apparent, that it was a body of socialists banded for their purposes, and with the extreme indulgence of the country, prepared for the enterprises they had before them. When the officials

looked into their connection with the conspiracy, it was not difficult to obtain privates or officers, who, for their own safety, were compelled to disclose all they knew, yet with all possible reluctance.

Very many understood no English. In one case, we learn that a German, for twenty years in this country, was unable to understand any ordinary question,—a somewhat miraculous withdrawal of the gift of tongues. This was accounted for by the wavering, between the menaces of the Law, and those of the socialists, and the effort was made to serve two masters, with the predicted results.

From the testimony of one of the *Lehr and Wehr Verein*, Gottfried Waller, it was established that a meeting had been held, where he presided on the 3d of May, when the mass meeting at the Hay Market was decided on. He testified, too, to the fact, that Engel, one of the prisoners, had declared that the north-western city groups, had announced their readiness to come to the aid of all their associates who were engaged in pushing their claims for eight hours a day, for work, with undiminished wage. He told how the word *Ruhe*, (peace), when printed in the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, was to be the rallying cry to arms. He was an excellent witness, as he was chairman of the meeting. In his details of the programme laid down by the socialists, he announced that the cutting of telegraphic communications; the seizure of the police barracks, the burning of public

buildings, and the shooting down of any one—not a socialist—daring to walk the street, was decreed. Dynamite bombs were to be used. Two of the prisoners, according to his testimony, were actively engaged in the manufacturing and distributing of those explosives. Here, beyond the call to arms, were many other proofs of the existence of a conspiracy. No cross-examination shook Waller's evidence, and it was corroborated by very reluctant testimony on the part of another member of the *Lehr and Wehr* regiment, Bernhard Schrader.

Subsequent witnesses enlarged on the part the Englishman, Fielden, had played in the massacre. Lieutenants Steele and Quinn swore that on the arrival of the police, they heard him cry out, "Here come the blood hounds! Do your duty now, and I will do mine." One officer testified to having seen Fielden discharge his revolver into the mass of policemen, and two officers took credit to themselves for having fired the shot which wounded him.

As this is an appendix, it will suffice to say, that copies of the works of Most, and other prominent socialists were found, in the offices of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*; they were actually for sale, at meetings and picnics, where the anarchists were taught to know their rights and wrongs, and be able to buy cheaply the weapons, chiefly dynamite, by which they could assert themselves. Very many revolutionary articles from anarchistic pens, which nobody paid any atten-

tion to before, in the lurid light of the Hay Market massacre came into prominence. I think many citizens of the United States, must then have been astonished at the forbearance of the National and Federal authorities, in allowing such literature to be spread.

The character of Spies' revolutionary and anarchistic appeals to the people, was sufficiently attested to. The arms found in the closets and offices of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, were produced; they consisted of revolvers, fuses, fulminating caps and shells.

The *Ruhe*, call to arms, was brought home to Spies by ample evidence; and the part Fischer took in spreading the inflammatory circulars was ascertained. Then two other informers gave important evidence.

William Seliger, at whose house Lingg lodged and manufactured his dynamite bombs, testified that the afternoon of May 4, some forty or fifty were made by Lingg, himself, and five or six other persons. The witness explained that for tubular bombs Lingg used sections of metal pipe and for spherical bombs he cast leaden shells in a cup-shaped mold, melting the lead on a ladle in the kitchen-stove. Small iron bolts and nuts were imbedded in the dynamite with which the shells were stuffed, and each shell was sealed with a fulminating cap and fuse attachment. Each bomb was powerful enough to destroy about 100 men if thrown into the midst of a crowd. Seliger also testified to the distribution of the bombs,

and how Lingg was eager to throw a bomb at the Larrabee street patrol-wagon, as it was starting off to the scene of the explosion. Lingg and Engel continually urged their fellow-anarchists to arm themselves with bombs. Seliger's testimony was corroborated by his wife, who also stated that Lingg tried to make a hiding-place for the bombs within the wall of his room, but was prevented by her. The prosecution showed by M. H. Williamson, a newspaper reporter, that Parsons and Spies had shown him bombs and dynamite in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office, and that Parsons had explained the methods of street warfare with bombs and boasted of the strength and perfect organization of the anarchists in the city.

Lieut. Shea produced the galley of type from which the "Revenge" circular was printed, and related conversations he had had with Spies and Fischer. Detective Jones produced two bars of dynamite, a large coil of fuse, and box and parcel of fulminating dynamite caps which he had found in Spies' desk at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office. Detective Duffy showed a sack of dynamite—probably about fifteen pounds—which he had found on a shelf in the rear editorial-room of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office, and the defense attempted to insinuate that this had been placed there by the police. Harry Wilkinson, a reporter, gave a detailed account of conversations which he had with Spies about the anarchistic methods of war-

fare in the presense of Joe Gruenhut. Gustave Lehmann, another of the informers, corroborated much of the previously-adduced evidence, describing the manufacture of the bombs at Lingg's room and their distribution at Neff's Hall. Under Lingg's instructions he hid a tin of dynamite and some bombs and fuses at Ogden's Grove, the morning after the explosion. Saloon keeper Neff swore to the violent speech of Engel, and to the arrival of Lingg and Seliger with a parcel of bombs the night of the explosion. F. Rosbeck, a machinist, gave some particulars about the actions of his employe, Rudolph Schnaubelt, for the days preceding and following the explosion.¹

When this stage of the trial was reached, a change came over the manner and countenances of the prisoners; their listlessness became earnestness, and their faces paled. Besides, their counsel seemed disposed to select a different course of defense, as such a strong chain of evidence was not anticipated.

Another consequence of the weakness of secret organization, was seen in the evidence of a paid detective, Andrew C. Johnson, who had become a member of the anarchistic society for the purpose of revealing its doings to the authorities. Their incendiary speeches at all these meetings were reported by him, and the important fact that the 1st day of May, was known as the day for the com-

1. Chicago Tribune, Aug. 21, 1886.

mencement of the revolution was established.

Other testimony implicated Spies, Fielden and Parsons. The "Revenge" circular was brought home to Spies.

But direct testimony, that some of the prisoners had actually taken part in the throwing of the bomb, was not lacking, and as the defense relied upon the inability of the prosecution to connect them with the special act of killing the police, the new feature of the evidence was very unfavorable.

The testimony of M. M. Thompson, and H. Gilmer, was of a still more compromising character for the defense; and relieved the prosecution from the results of any doubts upon the correctness of Judge Gary's decision, that no proof of direct connection, in time and place, between the throwing of the bomb was needed to establish the guilt of a conspirator, who had advised and instigated it.

Thompson testified that at the meeting he had seen Spies, Schwab and Schnaubelt together, and overheard them talking of "pistols," and police, and he saw Spies give something to Schnaubelt, which the latter made haste to conceal.

Gilmer's evidence was still more precise and to the point. He swore to the different parts Schwab, Spies and Schnaubelt took in the bomb throwing; Fielden at that time making his speech on the wagon. On the arrival of the police, Schwab spoke to Spies before he rushed into the alley. Fischer was already

there; Spies, according to Gilmer, lit the match and touched the fuse of the bomb in Schnaubelt's hand, who then threw the weapon into the ranks of the police. It was of immense importance to destroy the validity of this testimony, but it was not done on the cross-examination.

The smelting furnace found in Engel's residence was then introduced, and the dynamite and iron bolts discovered in Lingg's home were brought in, to connect him with the conspiracy. The bolts were of the same manufacture as those found in the body of one of the victims of the massacre.

Lingg had confessed to the police that he had been manufacturing bombs for their destruction, and this confession was put in evidence.

Physicians described the wounds under which the officers succumbed; their torn garments were exhibited, and the terrible ravages of the bomb's work were suggested.

Here nearly ended the direct work of the prosecution; quantities of dynamite, fuses, and bombs, found in various parts of the city were then placed before the court, and left no doubt of the extent of the preparations made by the conspiracy. Dealers in guns narrated the negotiations between themselves and Parsons for furnishing wholesale lots of revolvers. And, finally, professors of chemistry explained how the materials used in the bombs at the the Hay Market, did not differ from those found

in the weapons which Lingg confessed he had made. The opening of the address, on the side of the defense, went back to the point of law Judge Gary had decided on; that no direct part in the final act of the massacre need be shown to prove culpability, provided antecedent participation, and persuasion existed, and that a principal need be convicted before an accessory can be charged. The attorney Salomon, presented a contrary view. On the strength of the objection to this decision, the defence demanded that a verdict of not guilty should be rendered in favor of all those who had not been principals. This application was refused.

It should borne in mind that in the pages we have given of the recent history of socialism, the anarchistic wing is committed to the success of their doctrine, by all possible means. The disregard of an oath we have seen is not only pardonable, but commendable, if by it the cause can be advanced. Atheism of course makes such disregard easy. Another principle laid down by Most:—Every anarchist in the hands of the powers he is combating, may turn to his advantage everything possible, but if the worst comes, he has then an obligation to lecture all and everyone on the creed of his party, and be a confessor as well as a martyr.

To what considerable extent they were faithful to those laws, was as well exemplified in this city as on the trials reported in Europe.

The Mayor of the city of Chicago was called to give testimony, in the expectation that it might, through him, be substantiated, that the meeting at the Hay Market was an orderly and peaceable gathering of citizens, brutally and capriciously dispersed by the police, and that the bomb throwers and their associates were in the exercise of rights guaranteed by the constitution of the country, and consequently were not criminally accountable for the results.

The evidence of the Mayor was insufficient to bear out that deduction.

To still further sustain that theory, a witness, B. Simonson, testified that Inspector Bonfield told him how he would like to get 3000 socialists together—with no women or children with them—so that short work might be made of them. He swore, too, that the bomb had not been thrown from the alley, but from a point twenty feet south of it. That Spies and Schwab were not in the alley, was testified to by a cloud of witnesses, and others swore, that the violent speeches delivered at the meetings near the factory were made to keep the workingmen there assembled, quiet and orderly. Others on oath declared that the police commenced the shooting, and that it was nearly all on their side. In fact everything that could be contradicted in the testimony produced by the prosecution, was directly opposed by men under oath.

One witness, Krumm, a Russian anarchist, gave, if it were reliable, and not damaged by the contradictions of the cross-examination, very valuable aid to the theory of the defense. The statements of H. L. Gilmer, so positive, and so unshaken, as to the presence of Spies and Schnaubelt in the alley, lighting and throwing the bomb, should necessarily be overthrown before the line of defense could be laid. Gilmer was called a "constitutional liar," by one of the counsellors for the defense, and subsequently, the witnesses testified to his unreliability, even under oath. But lest some force might be attached to his word, Krumm swore that just before the throwing, he and his friend Albrecht were in the alley—and that neither Spies or Schnaubelt were there—and they had used matches and lit their pipes. So if Gilmer was not a "constitutional liar," he might have mistaken the lighting of pipes for that of bombs. Albrecht confirmed this, and further attested that the firing first came from the police. Another Russian anarchist, swore that Parsons was not at the Hay Market at the time of the massacre. And Linemeyer, for the purpose of discrediting the police, and intimating that they had placed the dynamite in the closets of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, swore that for two days before the seizure, he had calcimined the office, and that no such objects as the police had produced were there.

It might be here said, that afterwards, the prose-

cution brought a number of very respectable persons, to attest to Gilmer's veracity; and an expert told, that no calcimining at the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, had been done for a long time previous to the date fixed by Linemeyer's story.

The assertion, that the police were the assailants, was sworn to by an old physician and socialist, which many other associates of the movement, as far as they could, corroborated.

Henry Spies, the brother of August, had given on his apprehension, a detailed account to the police of his doings, and whereabouts on the night of the Hay Market riot. He appeared on the stand with a very different narration. Explaining the discrepancy between his confession and his evidence, he said that before the police he was not under oath, and that he had falsified; but the sacredness of the obligation he was now under, constrained him to tell the truth. The truth was, that some person tried to shoot his brother August when he was on the wagon before the bomb exploded. He had interfered, struck the revolver down, and received the shot himself; the revolver had fallen under the wagon; and he gave other evidence of a nature to contradict the prosecution. To prove that his brother was on the wagon at the time of the explosion, and that the revolver, supposed to be Fielden's, was not his, was very material indeed. Cross-examination impaired its strength.

That all this testimony for the defense, was apropos, and singularly, almost superhumanly fortunate, can scarcely be denied.

A witness named Ingham, contradicted Henry Spies' testimony, and Inspector Bonfield set at rest that of Simonson, as to the threats of the police.

As the law of the United States allowed the accused to testify in their own behalf, Fielden, Schwab, Spies and Parsons, in due order, took the stand, and were privileged to follow the anarchistic instructions, by expounding the socialistic doctrines and discussing the wrongs of the working classes. The evidence of all the four accused was made up chiefly of denials of the charges made against them. Fielden tried to explain away his call upon the people to "throttle the Law." Spies and Schwab, in their own estimate, were equally innocent of any criminal designs. The brutality of the police, and of the authorities, were expatiated on; and the noble cause of lifting up the working man by socialism explained and defended. Parsons admitted that he had urged the people to arms, as no other means of redress were afforded them, and occupied nearly half an hour in a speech to the court, in favor of socialistic theories.

Spies was called upon to explain a letter found among his papers by the police. It was from Herr Most. It is worthy of being quoted for reasons beyond the effect it had in implicating Spies in anar-

chistic plots; for it throws light on the schemes and aims of socialism of which Most is an acknowledged leader and apostle.

“My dear Spies;—

Are you sure that, the letter from the Hocking Valley,¹ was not written by a detective? In a week, I will come to Pittsburgh, and I have an inclination to go to Hocking Valley. For the present I send some printed matter there. The *Sch. H*, always existed but on paper. I told you this some time ago. On the other hand I am in the condition to furnish *medicine*, and the genuine article at that. Directions for use not needed with this people. Moreover they were recently published in the *Fr*. Appliances I can also send. Now if you consider the address of Buchtel thoroughly reliable I shall ship you twenty pounds. But how? Is there any Express line to the place? Or is there any other way possible? Paulus the Great seems to delight in hopping about in the swamps of *N Y V Z* like a blown up (bloated frog). The best of it is that the fellow cannot smuggle any more rotten elements into the newspaper company than are already in it. His tirade excites general detestation. In this regard a caution is necessary. Take care (be on the look out). The organization here is not better or worse than formally. One group has about the strength of the west side group in Chicago. Besides

1. Where strikes and riots were then prevailing.

we have *Soc. Peo. A.*, the Austrain League, the Bohemian League—so to say three more corps. Besides it is easily seen that our influence with the great organizations is steadily increasing. We insert all our meetings only in the *Fr.* and cannot notice that they are worse attended, than at the time when we threw three weekly \$1.50 and 20 into the mouth of the *N Y V Z*. Don't forget to put yourself in connection with the Drury in reference to the English organ. He will surely work with you much and well. Such the more necessary as the Truth(?) is getting more miserable, and more confused from issue to issue and in general is whistling from the last hole. Enclosed is a fly leaf which recently appeared in Emden, and is perhaps adapted to reprint. Greetings to Schwab, Rau and to yourself.

John Most.

P. S. To Buchtel I will of course for the present write in general terms.

Postal card.

A. Spies,

Fifth Avenue,

Chicago, Ill.

I had scarcely mailed you my letter yesterday when the telegraph brought me news from the *H V H.*, one does not know whether to rejoice over that work or not.¹ The advance in itself is elevating and

1. There had been a riot and bloodshed in the Hocking Valley.

is the circumstance that it will remain local, therefore might not have a result. At any rate these people make a better impression, than the foolish voting on this and the other side.

Truly Yours, J. M.

P. S. Can now and then receive open tickets.

The speeches for the prosecution and defense can be briefly summed up. The first for the prosecution of Mr. Frank W. Walker, was a statement denunciatory of the crime charged against the anarchists, with an analysis of the testimony adduced against them. The first speech for the defense, by a legal gentleman, not long from Austria, seemed more adapted to that country than to this. He inveighed against authority, the police, oppression, and the prosecuting witnesses. Everything was dark, base, and mendacious, he averred, in the effort to crush some few poor enthusiasts. This did not appear to make much impression upon an American Jury. The recollection of the dead and wounded policemen, was stronger than the sympathy for the deluded anarchists.

For the State, Mr. Ingham, next addressed the Court, in what was considered a very able manner, dwelling chiefly on the evidence, and welding the facts of the case into a very solid chain.

Mr. Foster, for the defense, took an entirely different line from his colleague, and as an American,

was better able to form a judgement upon the sentiments, and argument likely to convince an American Jury. He threw overboard all respect for socialism and anarchism, and spoke as severely of the futility, and aims of the clients, as did the prosecuting attorneys. He still harped though on the necessity of connecting directly the prisoners with the act of killing the policemen in the Hay Market. His speech made some impression on the Jury. A great part of his argument consisted of an effort to invalidate the testimony of Gilmer and Thompson, which he declared was the only damaging fact produced.

The leading counsel, Mr. Black, of the defense, appeared to have fused the two preceding arguments of his colleagues, into one, and added to it a spice of blasphemy. The minions of the law, by their arrogance, and brutality, had forced his clients into opposition; but the throwing of the bomb was incidental, or accidental, or the work of an individual, for which they should not be held responsible. They were innocent enthusiasts, having a beneficent and lofty purpose, and their deeds should not be judged as sharply, as the prosecution would seem to indicate. The "Nazarene" suffered on account of too punctilious a regard for Law, and the similarity of his purpose, with that of the prisoners, should be warning, lest a like miscarriage of justice should take place. With the usual appreciation and depreciation of testimony as it bore favorably or unfavorably on

the case, Mr. Black concluded his argument.

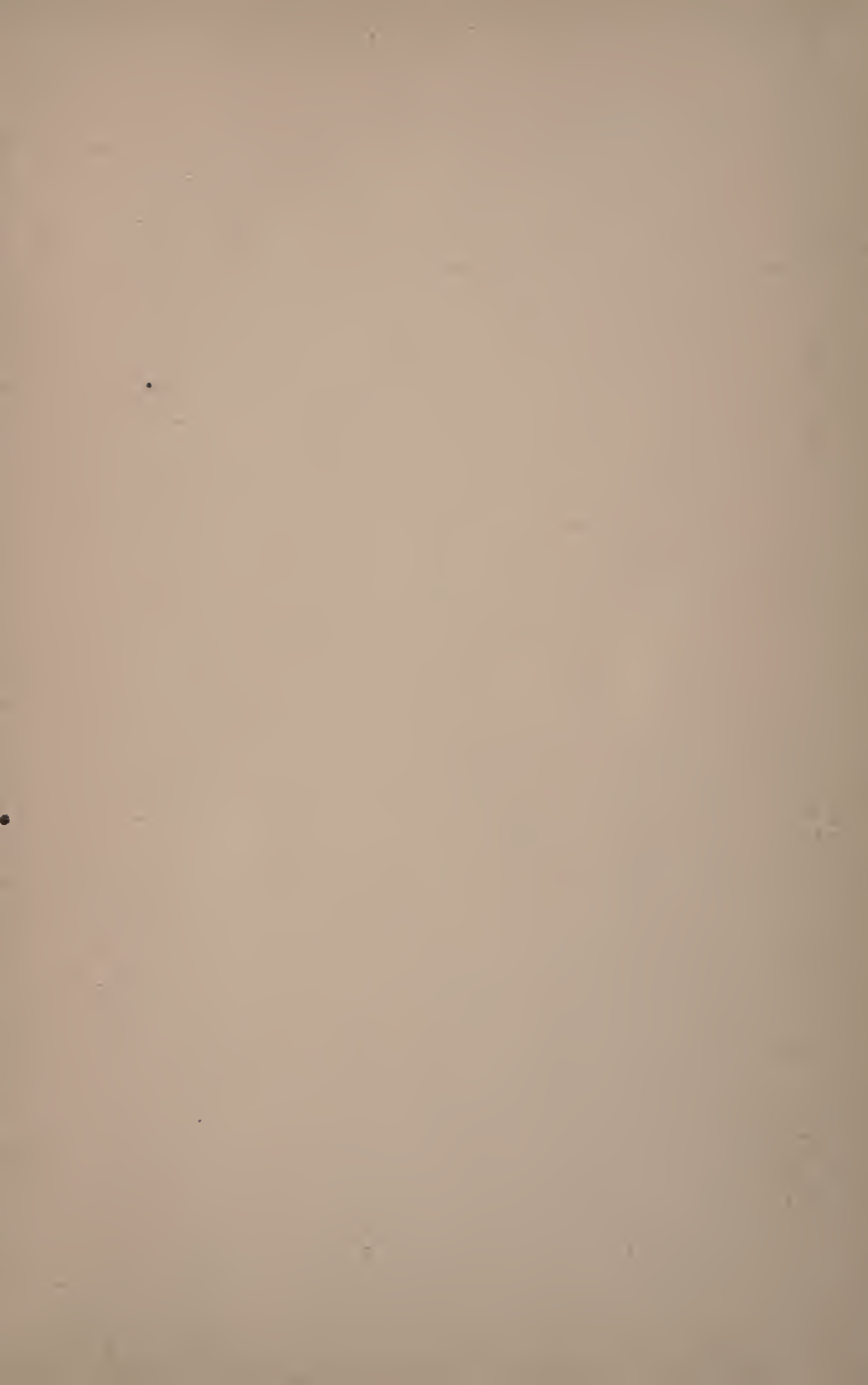
The last address was that of the leading prosecuting attorney, and turned nearly altogether on the facts produced in the evidence. Some warmth was elicited by his applying the epithet assassins to the prisoners, and strong objections made to it, by their counsel. A great impression, even a marked one, was made on the Jury, by his able array of the testimony, which described the march of the conspiracy, from the first step to its last, in the massacre of the Hay Market.

In Europe, the Judge conveys directly to the members of the Jury his opinion on the Law, which shall guide them in their deliberations; here both sides, the prosecution and defense, submit to him certain instructions, which if they meet his approval, must guide the Jury. The only correction of importance in the instructions made by the Judge, was one which might have been expected; once more ruling that a direct participation in the killing of the policeman was not necessary to prove guilt in a conspiracy. A short address, after the instructions were read, was made by the Judge, and the Jury retired.

After a brief deliberation, the Jury reached their verdict, and the next morning it was declared in Court. The Jury, in this country, has functions not given to similar bodies in Europe. It decides not only on the guilt or innocence of the accused, but measures, according to Law, the penalties to be

inflicted. In this case, the Jury decreed that seven of the eight prisoners, August Spies, Michel Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Louis Lingg, August Fischer, George Engel, and A. R. Parsons, were guilty as charged in the indictment, and that the penalty was death. To the eighth, Oscar Neebe, who was considered less implicated in the conspiracy, fourteen years confinement in the penitentiary was awarded. There still remain to the convicted socialists, two opportunities of appealing against this awful sentence. One to the Judge who presided at their trial, another to the Supreme Court, where the trial may be reviewed. Before the Judge, in claiming a new trial, will be adduced again, perhaps, the opinion which he overruled, that a direct participation in the final act of the Hay Market tragedy must be shown. Besides the permission given by him to peremptorily challenge whatever avowed anarchists were presented as Jurors, may be alleged as improper. Applying the epithet assassins to the prisoners, was objected to, and may again be used as motive for a reversion of the sentence. It is said that new evidence has been found, and will be forthcoming. If the Judge refuses the demand for a new trial, the Supreme Court will decide whether or not a sufficient informality has existed in the proceedings of the lower court, to either confirm or set aside its decision.

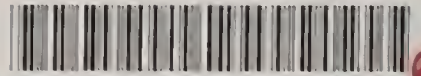








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